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TESIS DOCTORAL

**Acotaciones y sus variaciones en titulares de prensa económica inglesa:
un análisis cognitivo**

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PRESENTADA POR

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**Quotations and their variation patterns in
business and politics English press headlines: A
cognitive analysis**

Doctoral thesis

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Abstract

Bearing in mind the concept of *intertextuality* introduced by Julia Kristeva in the 1960s, the thesis that is here developed analyzes a specific type of collocations, namely, what Lewis (2000: 133) calls ‘part of a quotation’, making reference to the titles of books, films, TV series, pieces of music and the like. These appear as headlines of business and political news items in the prestigious magazine *The Economist*. Sometimes these titles are quoted without any changes, but they are also very often transformed and adapted to the specific context of the story they introduce.

The germ from which our thesis springs is a research study carried out from a statistical perspective during 2007 and 2008. It was proved then that there was no significant evidence of association of these collocations and the language of business and politics. On the other hand, contrary to our initial impression, it was shown that their incidence was really low. There was one remaining question, however, that our research was unable to answer at the time, which was why ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations are used in the headlines of news whose content shows in principle no relationship with them.

For the present research, therefore, we have decided to address this challenging question and take it into deeper consideration in order to attain a possible explanation of this phenomenon. The general theoretical framework will be that of Cognitive Linguistics. Additionally, we will follow the notion of *intertextuality* that Burger (1991) applies to the field of phraseology, and

Danesi's (1994: 276) definition of *intertextuality* as '*where a text alludes to another text*'.

A working **hypothesis**, then, in the present research is to test our initial impression that the ultimate goal of these headlines is to attract the reader's attention. In the case of this being so, we further analyse how the journalist achieves his/her goal and what devices he/she uses in doing so. In this respect we will seek to show that the use of 'part-of-a-quotation'/ allusive collocations in news headlines is a stylistically marked, lexico-syntactically productive phenomenon which blends into other forms of figurative language. This demands not only linguistic competence of the reader to play at the phrasal level, but also detailed cultural knowledge at different levels.

Regarding the **materials and method** followed, we took as the basis of our research the corpus we had already compiled for our 2007-2008 pilot study (The Economist Corpus). This was thoroughly reworked and reanalysed, as we considered it to represent the language of business and politics. The sample contains all the headlines that appeared in the different issues of *The Economist* published throughout 2006 up to the end of February 2007. In all and for this period of time, 3,367 headlines were examined, all of them in 52 issues. In a first stage 83 instances of the phenomenon under study were identified by hand-searching the total number of 3,367 headlines. However, after a second review, fruit of the systematic reanalysis carried out, 40 instances more were found, bringing the total to 123.

Those 123 headlines were then further examined in three stages. We look into all these aspects in the section on **Results and findings**:

- 1) following Partington's (2009: 1806) taxonomy, we classified the 123 headlines into different groups by distinguishing the different sorts of modification possible in the canonical collocations. According to the quantitative register of the data, we found out that journalists' three favourite processes when

building up a news headline are those of *substitution*, *expansion* and *literalisation*.

About the origin of the collocation, in the sample as a whole, quotations alluded to were most likely to be from TV and film titles, followed by allusions from literary sources and, finally, song titles. On the other hand, based on Ifantidou's (2009: 701) analysis, which distinguishes between 'short headlines' (fewer than 5-6 words) and 'long headlines' (more than 9-10 words), we found out that the tendency was towards the use of short headlines, mainly within a range from 2 to 4 words being preferred.

Related to this, in most cases the headline is made up of only a nominal group with no verbal part. As a second option, the journalist would choose a prepositional phrase. The use of short headlines can also be explained by the 'economical' syntax that is typical of journalistic language and especially of the headlines. As a consequence, English news headlines are condensed. This concentrating of information maximizes impact in the reader.

2) In a second stage we looked carefully into the accompanying news to those 123 headlines in order to try to establish their possible motivation, that is, their natural or contextual connection. In this respect, we observed three related aspects:

- a) 'motivation' arising from the textual dependence between the collocations we are concerned with and the texts identified as their sources.
- b) 'Motivation' between the headline containing our collocations and the news item it introduces in each case.
- c) 'motivation' arising from stereotype contexts, that is, what we consider as the use of the same type of collocation topping different news items but with similar content contexts.

3) Further analysis provided us with additional information regarding rhetorical devices and other related phenomena that could be of interest for the present

research. In fact, one of the most interesting aspects is the presence of metaphor and metonymy. But other resources are also relevant, like oxymoron, formal and semantic parallelism, phonic elements (alliteration, rhythm, rhyme), and different morpho-grammatical aspects. Wit and humour and irony are more deeply analysed; as we will show, they are used deliberately in news headlines in order to create a bonding sense of collusion between reader and journalist / newspaper.

The **discussion** chapter is divided into five sections. In each of them we will explain the most important principles and theories that help explain this linguistic phenomenon. Briefly, we will show that, due to their deliberate triggering of apparently irrelevant meanings, intertextual allusions may be discussed within the framework of conversational implicature established by deliberate flouting of the co-operative principle supposed to underlie rational communication (Grice 1975). The principle of relevance suggested by Sperber and Wilson (1995) provides an alternative descriptive framework and is actually more in accord with our study, as we believe this type of resources in language is the norm rather than the exception in many communicative situations (Gibbs, 2002). On the other hand, *Blending Theory* (Fauconnier y Turner, 1998, 2000, 2002) offers a plausible explanation to the fact that different abstract domains of discourse blend in only one linguistic sequence, which would explain the variations of the canonical forms accounted for in our corpus.

At the same time, as Veale (2012) suggests, novelty only ever makes sense in relation to the familiar, and as will become clear, linguistic creativity relies on the kind of everyday knowledge that we all possess in abundance and which we all take for granted. We use this familiar knowledge to create familiar surprises for an audience, as well as novel uses of language, that depart from the familiar yet which are understandable only in relation to the familiar.

From a qualitative point of view, our **conclusions** may be summarised as follows:

- the writer attracts the reader's attention, the main function, thus proving

that our initial hypothesis could not be rejected. All the prosodic, syntactic and semantic patterns we have examined in the crafting of this type of allusive headlines serve precisely the purpose of grabbing reader attention.

- Using an allusive collocation as the headline for a business or political news item, however, may also serve as a vehicle for indirect criticism or ridicule by means of grotesque implicit comparison.
- At the processing level, initially, comprehension is eased by the recognition of the familiar collocation, that is, by creating a feeling of familiarity; but then the reader is cognitively challenged to infer the relevance of the collocation for an article about business and/or politics.
- The productive ambiguity of words is exploited so that physical economy of expression is assured and the implication is that, if you read on, you will get to know about all the details contained in the ensuing news item.
- Related to this, there is strong condensation of a complex message through the adaptation of the collocation to a specific context.
- This will encourage the reader to read on to satisfy the curiosity raised by finding out what the ensuing text is about.
- It is important for writers to impart aesthetic pleasure to their readers. This is one way of establishing rapport with the reader. Not only is stylistic embellishment involved, but, more importantly, the writer is given the chance to display wit and linguistic ingenuity. In this way common ground can be established with the reader against the background of shared cultural knowledge. The comic effects of incongruity may function to achieve a certain bond between reader and writer.

This tendency may be better understood, on the other hand, if we try to place it as part of a current trend in journalism called *literary journalism*, which has lasted for longer than a century and well into the 21st century.

KEY WORDS: *press headline, collocations, quotation, allusion, intertextuality, specific characteristics, schemata, metaphor*

Resumen

Teniendo en cuenta el principio de *intertextualidad* introducido en los años 60 por Julia Kristeva, la tesis que a continuación presentamos analiza un tipo de colocaciones -- que Lewis (2000: 133) denomina ‘part of a quotation’ -- presentes en los titulares de noticias económicas y políticas de la revista británica *The Economist*, especializada en estos temas. Estas colocaciones, sin embargo, hacen referencia a los títulos de obras literarias, películas y series de TV, también a canciones o piezas de música. A veces estos títulos se citan sin cambios, pero otras veces son adaptados al contexto más específico de la noticia.

En un estudio inicial realizado en 2007-2008, quedó demostrado desde un punto de vista estadístico que el empleo de estas colocaciones no constituía ninguna tendencia de uso en los diferentes registros lingüísticos presentes en dicha publicación y, contrariamente a nuestra impresión inicial, su incidencia respecto a la totalidad de titulares era, en general, muy baja. Sin embargo, en dicho estudio fue imposible resolver por qué aparecen estas colocaciones en titulares de noticias con cuyo contenido nada tienen que ver.

Tomando como base el marco general de la Lingüística Cognitiva, la tesis que aquí desarrollamos intenta dar una explicación razonada de este fenómeno. Para ello seguiremos el concepto de intertextualidad que Burger (1991) aplica al campo de la fraseología, y la definición que Danesi (1994: 276) ofrece del mismo (‘cuando un texto alude a otro’).

Nuestra **hipótesis** de trabajo se centrará en comprobar nuestra impresión inicial de que el fin último de este tipo de titulares de noticias es atraer y captar la atención del lector, y si esto es así, cómo consigue el periodista su objetivo y qué recursos utiliza. En este sentido, mostraremos que la referencia intertextual en los titulares de noticias es un fenómeno marcado estilísticamente y productivo a niveles léxico y sintáctico, que coexiste con otras formas de lenguaje figurado, y esto demanda del lector una competencia no solo lingüística, sino también de conocimiento cultural a diferentes niveles.

En cuanto a los **materiales** y el **método** seguidos, tomamos como base para nuestra investigación el corpus que ya habíamos compilado para nuestro estudio piloto de 2007-2008 (The Economist Corpus), por considerar que era representativo del inglés de la política y los negocios. Consta de 3.367 titulares de noticias de esta publicación durante un período de tiempo aproximado de un año, desde principios de enero de 2006 hasta fines de febrero de 2007. Este corpus fue ampliamente revisado y reanalizado y, como resultado, descubrimos que el número total de titulares con colocaciones del tipo que queremos estudiar ascendía en realidad a 123 – en un principio solo habían sido identificados 83.

Estos 123 titulares fueron analizados posteriormente en tres fases. La sección de **resultados** expone los hallazgos encontrados:

1) siguiendo la taxonomía que Partington (2009: 1806) establece, clasificamos los 123 titulares en diferentes grupos según si presentaban modificaciones o no, y qué tipo de modificaciones eran. Según el registro cuantitativo de los datos, descubrimos que los tres procesos preferidos por los periodistas para construir un titular de noticia son los de *sustitución*, *expansión* y *literalización*.

En cuanto al origen de la colocación, comprobamos que los periodistas se suelen inclinar preferentemente por títulos de películas y series de TV, seguidos por los de obras literarias y, en último lugar, por los de piezas musicales modernas, todas

ellas bien conocidas. Por otra parte, siguiendo el análisis de Ifantidou (2009: 701), que distingue entre ‘titulares cortos’ (menos de 5 ó 6 palabras) y ‘titulares largos’ (más de 9 ó 10 palabras), pudimos determinar que la extensión media de nuestros titulares va de 2 a 4 palabras, es decir, son en general bastante cortos.

Relacionado con esto, en buena parte de los casos el titular lo compone únicamente un sintagma nominal; no existe parte verbal. En segundo lugar, el periodista optaría por sintagmas preposicionales. Este hecho tiene como consecuencia una fuerte condensación semántica, muy propia, por otra parte, del lenguaje periodístico y la sintaxis “económica” de los titulares de noticias, que, además, contribuye a maximizar el impacto en el lector.

2) El segundo paso consistió en examinar las noticias a las que los titulares/colocaciones acompañaban para intentar establecer su posible motivación, es decir, la relación existente entre los titulares/colocaciones y las noticias que encabezaban. Pudimos apreciar tres aspectos relacionados:

- a) motivación determinada por la dependencia textual entre nuestras colocaciones/titulares y los textos identificados como sus fuentes.
- b) Motivación determinada por la relación entre el titular/colocación y la noticia que introduce.
- c) Motivación determinada por lo que hemos llamado ‘contextos estereotipo’, que se producen, en nuestra opinión, cuando la misma colocación se utiliza para introducir noticias diferentes pero con características comunes.

3) En una tercera fase nos centramos en determinar si existían otros recursos retóricos que coexistieran con nuestras colocaciones y que pudieran resultar de interés para nuestra investigación. Efectivamente, uno de los aspectos más destacados es la presencia de metonimia y metáfora. Pero también resultan significativos otros recursos tales como oxímoron, o empleo de términos

antitéticos, paralelismo formal y semántico, empleo de patrones fonéticos (aliteración, rima, ritmo), y ciertos aspectos morfológicos y gramaticales. En mayor profundidad comentamos la presencia de dos recursos, el humor y la ironía, y demostramos que son utilizados en los titulares de noticias de forma deliberada con el fin de establecer empatía con el lector.

El capítulo de **discusión** aparece dividido en cinco secciones y en cada una de ellas se abordan los aspectos más importantes que ayudan a explicar este fenómeno lingüístico. De forma breve, demostraremos que las referencias intertextuales, por el hecho de ser capaces de desencadenar de forma deliberada significados aparentemente irrelevantes, pueden abordarse dentro del marco de las implicaciones conversacionales, ya que suponen un desacato deliberado del principio de cooperación que se supone que subyace a la comunicación lingüística, según Grice (1975). El principio de ‘relevance’ que Sperber y Wilson (1995) proponen facilita un marco descriptivo alternativo, más en consonancia con nuestra investigación, ya que creemos que el uso de este tipo de recursos es más bien la norma que la excepción en muchas y diferentes situaciones comunicativas (Gibbs, 2002). Por otra parte, la teoría de *Blending* (Fauconnier y Turner, 1998, 2000, 2002) aporta una explicación exhaustiva al hecho de que diferentes dominios abstractos de discurso se fundan en una única manifestación lingüística, lo que explicaría las variaciones de las formas canónicas que observamos en nuestro corpus.

Sin embargo, desde nuestro punto de vista, quizá el enfoque que mejor explica nuestro estudio es el que Veale (2012) ofrece en cuanto a la creatividad del lenguaje: lo original y novedoso solo tiene sentido si lo relacionamos con lo familiar, y, como demostraremos, la creatividad lingüística se basa en expresiones cotidianas que todos poseemos en abundancia y de las que no nos damos cuenta. Esta referencia a expresiones familiares en los titulares de noticias pretende sorprender al lector, además de ayudar a crear expresiones nuevas y originales que solo son comprensibles cuando las relacionamos con dichas

expresiones familiares.

Desde un punto de vista cualitativo, las **conclusiones** a las que hemos llegado se resumen como sigue:

- queda confirmado el hecho de que el fin último del empleo de nuestras colocaciones en titulares de noticias económicas y políticas es su función como captadores de la atención del lector por medio de alusiones a expresiones familiares para el lector.
- Sin embargo, nuestras colocaciones también a veces aportan matices de significado al titular (crítica, ridículo,...) que no parece oportuno expresar de forma más directa.
- Por una parte, las alusiones a colocaciones familiares facilitan el esfuerzo en el procesamiento cognitivo por parte del lector, ya que son fácilmente reconocibles. Por otra, suponen un reto cognitivo para el lector, ya que debe reinterpretar el significado de la colocación en su nuevo contexto.
- La economía lingüística de los titulares (son en general bastante cortos) propicia su ambigüedad semántica. Esto implica continuar leyendo la noticia para conocer todos los detalles.
- Relacionado con lo anterior, destaca el efecto de condensación de un mensaje complejo mediante la adaptación de la colocación a un contexto específico.
- Esto crea, a la vez, curiosidad en el lector, que continúa leyendo el artículo.
- Con el fin de establecer empatía con el lector, el periodista / escritor recurre también a efectos estéticos: no solo se trata de ofrecer belleza estilística en el titular, sino también de demostrar su ingenio y humor. Los efectos cómicos que se derivan de la aparente incongruencia semántica del titular con respecto a la noticia que encabeza sirven para que escritor y lector establezcan lazos comunes al compartir el mismo trasfondo cultural.

Todo ello, por otra parte, dentro de la corriente de *periodismo literario* que tanta

influencia ha ejercido y sigue ejerciendo en el ámbito periodístico.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *titular de prensa, colocaciones, referencia, alusión, intertextualidad, características específicas, esquemas, metáfora.*

Introduction

Many years ago, Firth defined collocation as '*the company words keep*' – their relationship with other words. When we think of the number of words in English, the number of potential combinations runs into many millions. So, the first and most important fact about the nature of collocation is the sheer number of individual collocations which exist in English. Past assessments of the number of individual words known by an educated native speaker pale into insignificance when compared with the total number of items – words, expressions, idioms, and collocations– which exist in the mental lexicon¹ of the typical educated native speaker. This is huge, consisting as it does of a vast repertoire of learned phrases of varying degrees of fixedness (Jackendoff, 1995). Within the mental lexicon, collocation is the most powerful force in the creation and comprehension of all naturally-occurring text.

For those who are familiar with the huge impact of corpus linguistics, these observations are obvious, but it is important to remember that the **word** is still considered by many scholars as the basic unit of language. Corpus linguistics has, however, taught us the importance of looking at natural language in large enough

¹ The term *mental lexicon* is widely used in cognitive and psycholinguistics to refer to the inventory of lexical items – the personal dictionary – each of us has stored in our mind. Neither the term nor what it refers to are generally accepted within the neo-Firthian tradition, in which '*the meaning of words lies in their use*' (Wittgenstein, 1953: 80).

quantities to see recurring patterns of lexis in texts of all kinds.

Our thesis focuses, therefore, on a certain type of collocations in one particular type of text: business and politics news headlines in *The Economist*.

1 Scope of the study

A number of authors, including Anttila (1972), Ladefoged (1972), Bolinger (1976), and Sinclair (1987) see collocation as one of the two main organising features of text. The other, what Sinclair calls the *open choice principle*, sees language production as a continuous series of open-ended choices, ‘*a series of slots which have to be filled from a lexicon*’ (1987: 320), the only restraints being grammatical, that is, that only items from certain word classes may appear in such and such a slot. Constraints other than the grammatical are in play in texts. Apart from register, the further constraints are called, as a class, *the idiom principle* which states that the openness of choice is not available to the same extent at every point along the syntagmatic progression of an utterance, but that

‘*the language user has available to him a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they appear to be analysable into segments*’ (1987: 320).

If, as Sinclair suggests (1987: 320), the most important reason for the idiom-collocation principle is to save processing time and effort, then it would tend to be at its most dominant in spontaneous discourse, i.e. conversation. We might expect semi-preconstructed phrases to be less common in written texts where time constraints are less of a problem.

But in *creative writing* collocation remains an important principle as much for the effects that can be produced by its exploitation as its conventional cohesive

power. In linguistic terms, the creative writer retains the option of treating even tightly compact preconstructed phrases as capable of analysis into their constituent elements -- of introducing the open-choice principle into the idiom/collocation. Whenever a preconstructed phrase is reanalysed in this way, the effect on the text is revitalizing (Partington, 1998).

The desire to achieve novel collocational effects is, in fact, found to be quite common in one of the most important publications in the English-speaking world, *The Economist*. The present research is, therefore, concerned with the notion of *collocation*, more precisely, with a specific type of collocation that Lewis (2000: 133) calls ‘part of a quotation’, making reference to the titles of books, films, TV series and pieces of music. These appear as the headlines of business and political news items.

Our work sets out to examine a corpus of all the headlines appearing in the different issues of *The Economist* published throughout 2006 up to the end of February 2007. In all and for this period of time the corpus (The Economist Corpus) comprises 3,367 headlines, all of them in 52 issues. We aim at combining quantitative distributional analysis with in-depth analysis of individual examples. Our approach is a cognitive one, influenced by psycholinguistic insights and methods.

Examples of the sort of phenomena we have in mind would include the following headlines, all taken from the corpus on which this study is based, and presented more fully in *Appendix 1* at the end of this work:

1) **Uganda. All the presidents’ wives**

RUHAMA COUNTY. It helps to have a well-known husband in the forthcoming elections. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.46)

17) **Darfur. Never say never again**

Three years after western Sudan burst into flames, NATO should provide an extinguisher. (*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, p.13)

35) **Computers. For whom the Dell tolls**

The world's biggest computer-maker is stumbling.
(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.64)

61) **Japan. The A team**

TOKYO. A new prime minister picks his cabinet.
(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.66)

86) **Weather risk. Come rain or come shine**

Hedge funds find a new way to profit by taking on the weather gods.
(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.78)

In many ways these examples look different, but what they have in common is that they are intended to remind the reader of a piece of language from another remembered context: (1) reminds us of the title of a non-literary book, *All the President's Men* (1974), by Woodward and Bernstein, about Nixon's downfall; (17) is the title of a film (1983) directed by Irvin Kershner, with S. Connery in the role of 007 James Bond; (35) reminds us of the title of Hemingway's 1940 novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*; (61) is the title of a popular American TV series; finally, (86) is the title of a song (1946) by H. Arlen and J. Mercer.

These being considered as examples of *echoic allusions* by other authors (e.g. Lennon, 2004, 2011), the term *allusion* is here defined as

'a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage'
(Abrams, 2009: 11).

Quotation, on the other hand, as kind of linguistic imitation, together with allusion, name borrowing practices for very specific ends, for example, they are a common feature in English language newspaper headlines. Indeed, quotation and allusion fully contend with *intertextuality* regarding utterances such as saws, proverbs, anonymous or multi-authored words, ballads, orally transmitted lore that usually have no identifiable first user or historical context (Orr, 2003: 17), although it is also the interaction of intertextuality with these other related terms that describes the processes of cultural rejuvenation: the saying again of the same or similar words has at least two related senses, past and present, literal and figurative, factual and ironic, serious and joking, poetic and prosaic.

Moreover, Lennon (2004: 3) recognizes intertextuality as one of the characteristics of allusion which have been described in the literature. Some scholars even give priority to intertextuality as criterial attributes of allusion.

The present research explores the notions of *allusion* and *quotation* ('part of a quotation' collocations) in news discourse and their reliance on the invocation of other remembered texts in decoding their meanings, and how such meanings change as texts are reconstructed from and in relation to other texts (intertextuality). This is important here because it is also the concern of our work the function of allusions and quotations in relation to English language news discourse and particularly the type we encounter in the publication *The Economist* regarding business and political news headlines.

It is the thesis of this study to show that linguistic creativity in *The Economist* business and political news headlines relies on the use of this familiar knowledge to create familiar surprises for an audience, as well as novel uses of language, that depart from the familiar yet which are understandable only in relation to the familiar. The final goal of these devices is to allow some kind of 'smugness effect' to create a bond between newspaper and reader that catches the reader's attention.

2 The concept of 'intertextuality'

Since Julia Kristeva first coined the term in the 1960s, *intertextuality* has been a dominant idea within literary and cultural studies, taken up by practically every theoretical movement. Yet intertextuality remains the subject of such a diversity of interpretations and is defined so variously, that it is anything but a transparent, commonly understood term.

In her essay of 1969, translated as *Word, Dialogue and Novel*, Kristeva introduces to a French-speaking audience the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian linguist and literary critic, who was at this stage little-known. Kristeva examines Bakhtin's concepts of dialogue and ambivalence, and ascribes to him the discovery that every text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations, as it absorbs and transforms other texts. The basis of intertextuality is, then, that no text, much as it might like to appear so, is original and unique in itself; rather it is a tissue of inevitable, and to an extent unwitting, references to and quotations from other texts. These in turn condition its meaning; the text is an intervention in a cultural system. Kristeva referred to texts in terms of two axes: a *horizontal axis* connecting the author and reader of a text, and a *vertical axis*, which connects the text to other texts (Kristeva 1980: 69). Uniting these two axes are shared 'codes': every text and every reading depends on prior codes. Intertextuality is therefore a very useful concept – indeed some would say essential – for literary study, as it concerns the study of cultural sign systems generally.

Roland Barthes explores this idea of intertextuality in a literary context and in 1968 he announces '*the death of the author*' and '*the birth of the reader*', declaring that '*a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination*' (Barthes 1977: 148), thus questioning the status of 'authorship'. Barthes (1977: 146) considers that

'A text is... a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none

of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations... The writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original. His only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them'.

The concept of intertextuality, therefore, reminds us that each text exists in relation to others. In fact, texts owe more to other texts than to their own authors. In this sense Michel Foucault (1974: 23) declared that

'The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network... The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hands... Its unity is variable and relative'.

Texts are framed by others in many ways. Our understanding of any individual text relates to such framings, that is, **texts provide contexts within which other texts may be created and interpreted**. The debts of a text to other texts are seldom acknowledged (except in scholarly academic writing). In fact, origin is often disputed and attributed to different authors. When writers write they are also *written*. To communicate we must use existing concepts and conventions. Consequently, while our intention to communicate and *what* we intend to communicate are both important to us as individuals, meaning cannot be reduced to authorial 'intention'.

The semiotic notion of 'intertextuality' is, however, frequently misused by critics and commentators and has migrated away from the original significance it had in the work of Kristeva, Roland Barthes and other theorists associated with French post-structuralist theory of the 1960s and 1970s. With time intertextuality has come to refer – according to post-modernist critics (Allen, 2000: 5) -- to far more than the 'influences' of writers on each other, but it can be discussed on many different levels. The choice of a specific title, a certain kind of music, or a particular way of moving a camera in a film or TV fiction all provide examples

of intertextuality when analyzed closely and with an eye to the relevant relations. Genre, cultural traditions, and national and international relations constitute a broader notion of intertextuality which is practically indispensable in the interpretation of the significant relational features of works and the traditions to which they belong. Therefore, no text (literary, or otherwise) operates in isolation. Its formation and interpretation is influenced by the creator's audiences' prior knowledge of: other texts; cultural conventions; and the associations that they individually produce. Since interpretation, then, is an active and individualistic process texts may also contain covert allusions which the creator of the text may not even have knowledge of, yet alone have intended.

In Barthes's words, the modern author does not release '*a single [...] meaning*' but rather arranges and compiles the always already written, spoken, and read into a '*multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash*'. The text is, then, '*a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture*' (Barthes, 1977: 146).

A famous example of this practice from the field of literature comes in the epigraph to T.S. Eliot's 'The Hollow Men': 'Mistah Kurtz – he dead' (Eliot, 1974: 87). The quotation is from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and it establishes a host of intertextual resonances which the reader then both brings to the poem and discovers within the poem itself. These include issues of failed quest, juxtapositions between the 'dead land' of Eliot's poem and Imperial England, along with the colonized and the uncolonized Africa of Conrad's novel and, perhaps most importantly, Kurtz's often-quoted words 'the horror – the horror'. So crucial, in fact, does the epigraph become to Eliot's poem that to read the text without it would be to drastically diminish its significance.

Similarly, according to Janusko (1983), two of the principal volumes that Joyce used when writing the 'Oxen of the Sun' episode of *Ulysses* were George Saintsbury's *A History of English Prose Rhythm* and William Peacock's *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin*. As he read through volumes such as these,

Joyce jotted down quotations, which he sometimes emended; he might note down a single word, or a phrase, or occasionally a sentence. Many notesheets that Joyce used in this process are crossed through, usually an indication that Joyce had incorporated the note into his text. The 'Bunyanesque' section contains a large number of notes almost exclusively taken from his reading of Bunyan. Notes from Defoe dominate the Defoe section. The Mandeville section contains, in addition to notes from Mandeville, many notes from Malory and a couple from Wyclif; conversely, the Malory section has many Mandeville notes in it. Later in the episode, the paragraph beginning 'To revert to Mr. Bloom', identified as an imitation of Burke, takes its notes from a much greater number of authors: Johnson, Chesterfield, Hume, Gilbert White, South, Reynolds, and Bolingbroke, as well as from Burke. So whilst some imitations are clearly based on a single author, others combine a range of authors not one of whom could be said to dominate that particular imitation.

As to Shakespeare's methods of work, in *Shakespeare's Sources* (2005: 253) it is suggested that it seems probable that he naturally followed the methods of imitation which he had learnt at school, and his genius was displayed more in the imaginative fusion of details from different sources than in pure invention in the modern sense. How conscious the process of fusion was must remain a matter of opinion. He may conceivably have had several books before him as he wrote, or he may have relied on his unconscious mind to perform the act of fusion. At times, as when in *The Winter's Tale* he versifies Bellaria's defence or in *Henry VIII* the defence of Katherine, we may be fairly sure that *Pandosto* or Holinshed was actually before him. In those passages there is no fusion of sources, but the close imitation of a single one. More often, however, Shakespeare appears to rely on his memory. He is not likely to have been aware of his echoes of Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* in the fourth scene of *Hamlet*, or of the biblical echoes in *Macbeth*, or even of the echoes from Horace and Harsnett in *King Lear*. There are, nevertheless, some linked echoes from passages which were linked also in such compilations as Erasmus's *Adagia*, and it may be assumed that in such

cases Shakespeare amplified his material by referring to such a work.

Therefore, no one today -- even for the first time -- can read a famous novel or poem, look at a famous painting, drawing or sculpture, listen to a famous piece of music or watch a famous play or film without being conscious of the contexts in which a text has been reproduced, drawn upon, alluded to, parodied and so on. Such contexts constitute a primary frame which the reader cannot avoid drawing upon in interpreting the text. Most citizens in many parts of the world can see, hear, and participate in these relevant processes. And although the phenomenon in question concerns audio-visual as well as text-based material, it is typically referred to as intertextuality.

3 Quotation

The classic definition of *intertextuality* is taken from a sentence early in Kristeva's 1969 essay: intertextuality is '*a mosaic of quotations*', that is, any text is the absorption and transformation of another, so that, as mentioned, it seems that it is virtually impossible in our 'postmodern' world to produce an original text that does not in any way make reference to what has come before.

From the angle of quotation as reinterpretation, and affecting one or more cultural heritages, moments or contexts, this constant overlaying of language has represented the problems of communication since time immemorial: fidelity or fickleness, authority or fakery, truth or deception, utility or art (Orr, 2003: 17).

In this sense 'authorship' seems to have been a historical invention. Concepts such as 'authorship' and 'plagiarism' do not seem to have existed in the Middle Ages. As Goldschmidt (1943: 88) states,

'Before 1500 or thereabouts people did not attach the same importance to ascertaining the precise identity of the author of a book they were reading or quoting as we do now'.

In recent history of quotation, post-modernist critics have concentrated on quotation and authorship as two key problems. As Kellet (1933: 14) already put it,

'In one sense all, or practically all, our writing is quotation'

Authorial intention can be removed by denying the author exists (Barthes, 1977), that is, meaning comes not from the author but from language viewed intertextually; by situating meanings with the reader not the author (Riffaterre, 1978), that is, a text's significance depends on an 'idiolect'²; or, by claiming that all language usage is incidental since it has always already been spoken or written (Derrida, 1976). That is, Derrida's famous phrase that *'there is nothing outside the text'* sums up his approach. What texts refer to, what is *'outside'* them, is nothing but another text. 'Textuality' means that reference is not to external reality, the assumption of much Western thought, but to other texts, to 'intertextuality'.

An example will be used to illustrate this point. Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* is perhaps one of the most widely discussed modern novels. It is set in a fourteenth-century abbey run by Benedictine monks, and involves the story of the visit of William of Baskerville and the novice Adso, their search to uncover the mysterious murder during their visit to the abbey's monks, and the connection those murders have with a lost or concealed text, which turns out to be Aristotle's lost work on comedy.

The novel might at first appear to be an uncomplicated attempt to realistically represent the world of medieval monasticism. In this sense the novel is divided

² For Riffaterre, texts produce their significance out of transformations of socially normative discourse, which he calls the *sociolect*. A text's significance depends on an 'idiolect' which transforms a recognizable element of the sociolect by means of inversion, conversion, expansion or juxtaposition (Allen, 2000: 119).

into seven days and each day into the eight religious ceremonies which order the daily life of the monks.

Eco achieves the construction of his realistic medieval world out of intertextual strands from the Middle Ages through to the present day. His protagonists, William of Baskerville and Adso are clearly based on the Sherlock Holmes and Watson of Arthur Conan Doyle's famous Victorian detective stories. William's surname directs us towards Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. The medieval world within which they live is immediately complicated by the development of a narrative of mystery and detection through deductive logic which readers of Conan Doyle will immediately recognize as generated from that Victorian inter-text. The sinister librarian, Jorge of Burgos, directs readers to the twentieth-century Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges. The developing narrative centred on the mysteries contained in the Aedificium, or labyrinthine, towered structure of the library, alerts readers with a knowledge of Borges's work to texts including 'The Circular Ruins' and 'The Library of Babel' (Borges, 1970: 72-7, 78-88). Many other inter-texts also play major roles in the structuring of the narrative and the long conversations between characters. The novel is constructed from echoes, quotations and allusions to Wittgenstein's philosophical writings, medieval texts, the language and frequently the specifics of particular medieval churches and cathedrals, the paintings of Breughel, passages from the Bible, and many other examples, not all of which any one reader is likely to register in any single reading (Allen, 2000: 196).

The entire narrative, then, can be read within the theory of intertextuality. The whole narrative centres on the search for a lost or repressed text, yet this search merely goes to demonstrate the interconnectedness of all texts. As Adso discovers,

'Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside of books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves. In the light of this

reflection, the library seemed all the more disturbing to me. It was then the place of a long, centuries-old murmuring, an imperceptible dialogue between one parchment and another, a living thing, a receptacle of powers not to be ruled by a human mind, a treasure of secrets emanated by many minds, surviving the death of those who had produced them or had been their conveyors'. (Eco, 1998: 286)

According to Orr (2003: 130), where other kinds of cultural reference such as allusion, reminiscence, indirect quotation, paraphrase, pastiche or adaptation may go unnoticed, quotation marks placed around any utterance highlight, separate and distinguish it from surrounding phrases. Quotation, then, marks identifications and distinctiveness in national and temporal frames, as it can be a homage, an authority, or simply a means of parody or irony. Quotation, then, is integrally familiar matter. Contrary to plagiarism's primary intention to deceive, **quotation openly states and acknowledges its status as borrower and borrowing.**

Compagnon (1979: 38) declares that it is not what is repeated, or indeed who repeats, that is intrinsic to quotation, but the how and why of its repetition. A good question to ask is, then, what makes a quotable quote. Orr (2003: 135) identifies three key elements as central to quotation:

- a) pithiness, that is, being concise, yet sensible and full of meaning;
- b) aptness to the host context: expression that is to the point must also have a point, or draw attention to how it is framed.
- c) extraction: quotation does not replicate or assimilate the embedding sentence; rather, it is repeated as insertions or excerpts.

Mottoes, adages, axioms, proverbs, epigrams, maxims or modern slogans are all common forms of quotation. **Often without known authorship or necessity for quotation marks**, these lose nothing of their authority as message bearers and operate across epochs and national boundary. It is more singular or striking catchphrases which normally assume diacritical markers, since author or textual

source are known -- ‘To be or not to be’, for example, is unequivocally Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* or Hamlet. Quotations, therefore, invite onward transmission, whereas the new context, although often particular to accommodate it, will rarely make ‘quotable quote’ status itself.

Lennon (2004: 2), on the other hand, groups all those phenomena and other similar ones under the heading of *echoic allusion*,

‘...which is characterised by an echo orchestrated by the writer so that understanding involves a setting off of one unit of language in praesentia (the alluding unit) against another in absentia (the target). The echo may be achieved either by means of verbatim reproduction or adaptation of the original language. What is criterial is that some sort of text-dependent or context-dependent meaning contrast is set up between the two units...’

Although allusions to quotations have long been of interest in literary studies, but have received relatively scant attention from linguists, Armstrong (1945) already drew attention to the prevalence of literary allusions in the press. Indeed, long before Kristeva (1969) introduced the word *intertextuality* as a literary *terminus technicus* there was a long and well-established tradition of interest in brief passages in one literary text *in praesentia* which ‘echo’ other passages from other texts *in absentia*³ by means of a cryptic or indirect, usually brief or fragmentary quotation, which strictly speaking cannot be counted as a genuine quotation at all,

³ ‘le rapport syntagmatique est *in praesentia*: il repose sur deux ou plusieurs termes également présents dans une série effective. Au contraire le rapport associatif unit des termes *in absentia* dans une série mnemonique virtuelle’ (de Saussure, 1972: 171)

[Translation: a syntagmatic relationship is *in praesentia*: it is based on two or more terms equally present in an actual series. By contrast, an associative relationship unites terms *in absentia* in a virtual series in memory]

because it is so integrated into the discourse as to yield a double meaning, namely a primary, textual meaning in accord with the context and co-text of the manifest text, and a secondary associational meaning, suggested by the remembered context and co-text of the source text (Lennon, 2004: 5).

The reader perceives the alluding segment in the text being read not so much as a quotation from the source text but as an ‘echo’ of that quotation, because even in the case of verbatim reproduction there will be a meaning contrast between the two segments of language by virtue of the fact that they occur in two different contexts. Often recontextualisation will involve lexical and/or syntactic modifications as well, and in some cases the original segment may be deliberately modified to achieve rhetorical effects (Lennon, 2004: 61).

4 Conclusions

The modification of phraseological units (in our case of allusive collocations), especially in the case of substitution of some of their elements, represents an intended phenomenon, as we will see, with impact on the semantic, syntactic, phonetic and pragmatic levels.

For this reason, **intertextuality plays an important role in the semantic reconstruction of allusive collocations: phraseological variations are saved from non-sense or from too much ambiguity by intertextuality.** In order to make a good interpretation, the receiver must know the initial scenario in memory that the changed collocation *in praesentia* refers to. The reader is not only

‘actively involved in the construction of meaning and significance, but also in the intertextual process of activating other texts and discourses which are part of his/her background knowledge in constructing the

appropriate myths' (Kitis and Milapides, 1996: 585),

as an allusion is understandable only to those with prior knowledge of the covert reference in question.

The degree of the message reconstruction depends on the party's ability to recover and reconstruct the original collocations the context alludes to. By changing the standard form of a phraseological unit, the speaker / writer commits the listener / reader to refer to this through the spontaneous act of recognizing the initial model, but, at the same time, also to an extralinguistic situation the ad hoc version refers to.

Besides, when often used, these expressions tend to turn into clichés whose expressivity is blunted. Changes refresh form. The journalist tries then to get a new, more expressive form, for example:

77) The yachting craze. A dash for the deep blue sea

Every inch of the world's coast is sized up by seafarers in search of space.
(*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.62)

[original collocation: *Deep blue sea*]

The present research

1 Introduction

The increasingly international nature of business practices and formal business training and the globalisation of politics that have taken place in the world in the last decades have spread the interest in economic and political issues among the general public. This growing interest is reflected at the same time in the rise of publications, radio and TV programmes dedicated to economic and political topics. For example, the number of issues of *The Economist* in the English-speaking world, or the publication *Expansión* in the Spanish-speaking world has developed in the last decades together with the interest of the public in economic and political topics (Pizarro Sánchez, 2000).

However, from a linguistic point of view, this tendency has not been followed by an increase in the number of studies on business and political texts and their characteristics, if we compare it with other disciplines like medicine, law or computing, as explained by Yeung (2007). The language of economics and politics provides nevertheless a fascinating ‘laboratory’ for a number of linguistic studies, since it is undergoing a process of assimilation to the features of everyday language (Pizarro Sánchez, 2000).

One area of linguistic inquiry which has attracted growing attention due to its pervasive occurrence in everyday language is the study of multiword units, and

collocations (see Sinclair, 1991). Some researchers such as Kjellmer (1991, in Aijmer et al., 1991: 123), Lewis (2000: 53) and others suggest that the mental lexicon of any native speaker contains single-word units as well as phrasal units or collocations. Mastery of both types is an essential part of the linguistic equipment of the speaker or writer and enables him to move swiftly and with little effort through his exposition from one prefabricated structure to the next, as a decisive characteristic of collocations is the predictable nature of their constituents: the presence of one of them will predict the presence of the other(s).

Within this general context a research study motivated by the factors mentioned above -- first, the need for more studies on the language of economics and politics from the lexicogrammatical perspective; second, the growing interest in the study of what Sinclair called ‘extended units of meaning’, which include a vast array of multiword combinations (including ‘collocations’), as building blocks of the lexicogrammatical patterns we find in language – was carried out during 2007 and 2008.

A cursory look at the headlines of one of the most important publications in the English-speaking world, *The Economist*, showed what in principle seemed a tendency to use a specific type of collocation, namely, what Lewis (2000: 133) calls ‘part of a quotation’, making reference to the titles of books, films, pieces of music and the like, e.g.

Venezuela. Mission impossible.

CARACAS. Poverty is at last falling under Hugo Chávez, but not nearly as much as it should have given his country’s vast oil windfall.

(*The Economist*, February 18th 2006, p.46)

The research questions which were addressed were the following:

- were collocations of the type discovered on a preliminary analysis a frequent phenomenon in the headlines of economic publications?

- What was the variability of the observed collocational patterns?
- Were the observed collocations an exclusive phenomenon of the language of economics and politics or was their frequency similar in more general type of publications?

The starting point was the compilation of a sample with all the headlines that appeared in the different issues (52) of *The Economist* published for approximately a year (2006-2007), which we called ‘The Economist Corpus’. The headlines sometimes resembled the titles of books, TV series, films and pieces of music; these were identified by hand-searching the total number. The distribution of the frequencies found according to the different categories⁴ distinguished at the time was summarized in *table 1*:

The Economist Corpus		
Number of headlines reviewed	Type of collocation	
3,367	Literalisation	26 (0.77 %)
	Substitutions	42 (1.25 %)
	Expansions + Insertions	15 (0.45 %)
	Total	83 (2.47 %)

Table 1

In order to compare this sample with another one from a non-specialised magazine, a second sample was then similarly compiled from *Time Magazine* (Time Magazine Corpus). The criteria used were the same as with *The Economist*: 3,367 headlines were compiled by hand throughout all the issues (84) of *Time Magazine* for approximately the same period of time, from January 2006 until August 6th 2007. The distribution of the frequencies found according to the

⁴ An explanation on these categories (literalisation, substitution, ...) is provided on pages 70-77 in this work.

different categories distinguished at the time was summarized in *table 2*:

Time Magazine Corpus		
Number of headlines reviewed	Type of collocation	
3,367	Literalisation	26 (0.77%)
	Substitutions	48 (1.43%)
	Expansions + Insertions	12 (0.35%)
	Total	86 (2.55%)

Table 2

Finally, we compared the relative frequencies from two points of view:

- a) regarding the total number of headlines compiled (3,367), as the samples are quantitatively equivalent, we find that

The Economist Corpus → 83 collocations = 2.47 %

Time Magazine Corpus → 86 collocations = 2.55%

- b) As to the number of issues analysed from both magazines,

The Economist Corpus → 83 collocations / 52 issues = 1.6

Time Magazine Corpus → 86 collocations / 84 issues = 1.02

Summing up, the statistical analysis showed that there is practically no difference between *The Economist* and *Time Magazine* with regard to the different types of collocations since the absolute frequencies are practically the same in both cases. The predominant differences are with respect to *substitution*, whereas *expansions* + *insertions* show little difference.

Although the results of the statistical analysis clearly contradicted what we had initially taken for granted, that is, that their frequency of use was really high and that there was a direct relationship between the use of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations and the type of publication, more precisely, *The Economist*, as representative of the business and political registers. However, they answered most of the questions that gave rise to the research: first, that there were no striking differences between both magazines as to the use of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations; second, ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations cannot be considered as a tendency of use in any of the linguistic registers present in both publications, as their incidence is really low: regarding the total number of headlines, our collocations made little more than 2%; as to the total of issues analysed, the rate was of one or two collocations per issue.

Another proof of this was provided by the data in *table 3* about the Time Magazine Corpus, which showed quite a lower rate of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations in headlines introducing news about business or politics in comparison with that of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations in headlines related to other types of news:

	Time Mag. Corpus collocation frequency	about business or politics	other types of news
Total	86	31 (36%)	55 (64%)

Table 3

There was one remaining question that our research was unable to answer at the time, which was why ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations are used in the headlines of news whose content shows in principle no relationship with them. We thought that the fact that this rhetorical resource attracted so much our attention as readers, linked to its low frequency of occurrence, suggested that the journalist, conscious of the power these collocations have when trying to catch the reader’s

attention, did not want to ‘overuse’ them so that the impact on the reader was not affected. We considered this to be quite an interesting hypothesis that should be further studied and consequently demonstrated in further investigations, as this was not then the object of our research.

For the present study, therefore, we have decided to address this challenging question and take it into deeper consideration in order to attain a possible explanation for this phenomenon. Moreover, according to Orr (2003: 130), the precisions that quotation affords ought to determine its central place in cultural criticism; yet, the insignificance and marginality of quotation in current debates are perhaps due to the existence of more pressing and complex issues. For example, while electronic citation is paradoxically closer to the use of others’ words in antiquity – attribution was integral or dismissed altogether by anonymous or collaborative authorship – unlike these precursors, electronic text producers are unwilling that their words remain anonymous. Plagiarism, on the other hand, as outcome of copyright in print culture is responsible for marking ownership of words, but printing also determined the conventions of punctuation and signs of attribution such as speech marks. Quotation, as we will see, plays a strongly active part in cultural production, including the most contemporary.

In the following sections I will present the theoretical framework for the present research, its aims and the research questions addressed, the materials and analysis methodology used, and the results of the analysis. These results are interpreted and discussed at the end of our work to form the basis of the final concluding remarks to the present research.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 The functions of press headlines

Headlines are in the main associated with journalistic products, although headlines also occur in other types of messages, ordinarily written ones, such as posters or signs on notice boards. They will be printed above a text in larger and bolder letters to draw attention to it. Although there are of course exceptions to this, headlines of news articles in daily papers appear to be prototypical headlines in this sense, and also articles in journals, periodicals and magazines like *The Economist* have headlines (Alm-Arvius, 2010).

The use of headlines is firmly established, and their occurrence and function have been looked into in a number of studies (Dor 2003; Haggan 2004). It is the very fact that headlines are unavoidable parts of many types of usually written language messages that makes them worth studying. Most types of texts with headlines are directed at comparatively large, sometimes very large, groups of people, and in everyday modern life we meet with quite a lot of headlines especially in daily newspapers and in weekly or monthly journals and magazines.

Accordingly, we believe it is relevant to try to establish what may be the different types of communicative functions headlines can have.

White and Herrera (2009: 135) suggest that

‘Headlines are the shop window display of newspapers.’

Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) point out, in this sense, that headlines reach an audience considerably wider than those who read the articles, since all those who buy the paper will glance, if only fleetingly, at the headlines. Moreover their impact is even wider than on those who actually buy the paper, since headlines are often glimpsed on the different means of transport, they are publicly

displayed – especially in the case of front page ones --, etc. The impact of headlines on the reader is likely to be all the stronger because certain linguistic features and rhetorical devices used in titles make them particularly memorable and effective.

According to Herrera and White (2007: 297),

‘Headlines should have instant appeal, summarise news stories quickly and satisfactorily...’

Dor (2003: 697), on his part, suggests that

‘Traditionally, newspaper headlines have been functionally characterized as short, telegram-like summaries of their news items. This is especially true with respect to news headlines’.

Abastado argues (1980: 149) that the role played by headlines is also that of orienting the reader’s interpretation of subsequent ‘facts’ contained in the article. Headlines encapsulate not only the content but the orientation, the perspective that the readers should bring to their understanding of the article. With much press news drawn from external news agencies and shared with competitors, the headline is a newspaper’s opportunity to stamp its individuality on what is otherwise a mass-produced product.

Within this context White and Herrera (2009: 135) conclude that

‘Form, function and actual practice in the use of headlines, on the one hand, and, on the other, growing research in the field warrant a consideration of press headlines as a discourse type in its own right.’

According to Dor (2003: 697), however, although it is true that traditionally some newspaper headlines do provide what seems to be a summary or abstract of their stories – those which appear in the so called ‘quality newspapers’ --, the general theoretical conception which takes this to be the essential function of the

headline seems to be too narrow, for at least three reasons:

1. some headlines do not always summarize their stories, but they ‘highlight’ a single detail extracted out of the story, and others contain a quotation which the editor decided should be promoted to the foreground;
2. in more popular newspapers, and especially in tabloids, headlines rarely summarize their stories, and in many cases are not even informative. Rather, they present the reader with ‘a fairly complex riddle’, which, first, triggers frames and belief systems in the reader’s mind and, then, gets resolved in the ensuing text.
3. Bell (1991: 189) says that headlines are a ‘*part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader*’ and provoke him/her to read the whole story (pragmatic function).

More recent research in this respect (Ifantidou, 2009) also questions those standard assumptions and supports the view that headlines are better seen in terms of **autonomous texts** designed to be interpreted as such rather than representations of the story they introduce, and that unless one reads the actual news report, s/he receives a distorted or incomplete account of the story. Readers, at the same time, seem to value headlines for what they are, i.e. underinformative, creative, yet autonomous texts:

‘... headlines are better examined – and perhaps designed – as autonomous texts, rather than as mirror-images of the stories they, traditionally, introduce’ (Ifantidou, 2009: 717)

Genuinely interested newspaper readers can refer to the related article and retrieve the story’s meaning, but in numerous cases this may not be possible, so headlines are purposely read for the sake of a quick and loose news update. The function of headlines to summarize has been questioned by showing that they do not accurately represent the articles they introduce, they do not improve readers’ comprehension, nor do they include substantial information. Precisely because headlines consistently misrepresent news stories, readers’ previous knowledge

and sophisticated reading strategies are claimed to be critical in retrieving the explicit or implicit meaning conveyed.

Dor's observation (2003: 696-697, 718, 720) that

'Many skilled readers spend most of their reading time scanning the headlines rather than reading the stories'

seems to reinforce Ifantidou's 'autonomous-text' view of headline interpretation.

Alm-Arvius (2010), on her part, even points out a seemingly name-like function of some titles or headlines. She suggests that the titles of, for instance, books, stage productions and films can have a more obvious naming function than ordinary headlines, and newspapers, magazines and journals are straightforwardly said to have names. All these types of communicative complexes – some of which can be considered works of art while others are journalistic products – are publicised wholes, and they will be individualised and more permanent compared to articles that are merely part of some transitory press or art product, such as an issue of *The Economist*.

She observes that the name-like character of titles or headlines comes from them being unique labels for unique texts. However, the naming quality of the headline of an article in a publication such as *The Economist* will not be so obvious, because its existence or contents are not widely known. By comparison, the title of a well-known book, play or film – say Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*, or the western *El Dorado* – will be felt to be a kind of name that identifies its referent without foregrounding or even making us consider its descriptive meaning in more detail.

As mentioned, headlines are instead often expected to indicate what an article is about. Especially headlines of news articles are expected to sum up the gist of what an article says, so that a reader is quickly and briefly informed about its contents, and can decide whether or not to go on to read the article (Dor, 2003:

719). The same is true of titles of science papers according to Haggan (2004: 299, 313). Also many book titles have this content informative character. A case in point is Noam Chomsky's most influential monograph *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, published in 1965. Interestingly enough, its classic status means that its title is often clipped to just *Aspects*. In other words, the fame of the book has made it possible to give its abbreviated title name status. Since linguists can be expected to have at least a general idea of the contents of this book, the title's informative character is no longer needed. It is enough to use an abbreviated version of the actual title that quickly and efficiently makes it possible to identify its referent.

But the headlines in the studied issues of *The Economist* seldom have this summary character. When it occurs, it will not be the main headline but a sub-heading that has this more direct content reflecting function. The following example illustrates this:

13) **Face Value. Time of his life**

Carl Icahn expects to have the last laugh in his battle to break up Time Warner. (*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.66)

2.2 The concept of 'collocation'

The notion of *collocation* is one of the most original ideas put forward by Firth (1957), one that has had, and is still having, a revolutionary impact on modern linguistics:

'[...] I propose to bring forward as a technical term, meaning by "collocation"' (1957: 194).

As is often pointed out (e.g. Lyons 1977: 612), Firth does not define collocability

as precisely as one may wish, but one thing is clear: Firth rejects the Saussurean dualistic notion of signification:

‘Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of night is its collocability with dark, and of dark, of course, collocation with night’ (Firth 1957: 196).

Firth was not always clear in his writings on collocation, so exactly what kind of importance he attached to the notion of collocation is a difficult question to answer. However, there is no doubt that Firth considered the tendency of lexemes to co-occur in texts an important part of their meaning. Therefore, meaning by collocation is a direct consequence of the fact that, for Firth, the meaning of words lies in their use that is intertwined with other words, and established usage will recognise words *‘in familiar and habitual company’*. Therefore, meaning by collocation is placed at the lexical level and it is directly observable in textual data (physical evidence). Some examples could be *rancid butter*, *thunderous applause* or *sustainable development*.

It is also interesting to note that for him the *‘system of distributed variants’*, that is, the different observable structures, at the collocational (=lexical) level must be matched by another at the colligational level, thus establishing what he calls *colligation*, i.e. the statement of meaning at the grammatical level, seen as the relationship between word classes and sentence classes. This point is extremely important, as it was the first step towards recognising the strict interdependence of lexis and grammar. Colligation is one step more abstract than collocation as it is the outcome of long sequences of analysis (structural evidence). Example: the word *cases* frequently co-occurs with the grammatical category of quantifier *in some cases*, *in many cases*.

One reason why he did not go much further could probably be that the pervasive

nature of collocation in the general language was not observable in Firth's day; the amount of collocational data capable of accounting for the standard variety of language had not been made available at the time when he was writing and it is only now, with the development of large and representative computerised corpora, that we truly recognise the importance of the collocational criterion for statements of meaning.

Later, Halliday (1966) and Sinclair (1966) took Firth's idea further and, without abandoning collocation as defining meaning, introduced the notion that patterns of collocation can form the basis for a lexical analysis of language alternative to, and independent of, the grammatical analysis. They regarded the two levels of analysis as being complementary, with neither of the two being subsumed by the other.

'Collocation and set, as terms in a lexical description, are analogous to structure and system in a grammatical theory. The difference is that collocation is a relation of probable co-occurrence of items, and sets are open-ended' (Malmkjaer, 1991: 302).

'We choose items from lexical sets rather as we choose types of grammatical items from grammatical systems or build up grammatical structures' (Carter, 1987: 50).

McIntosh (1961: 328) and Mitchell (1971) presented the lexical and grammatical analyses as interdependent:

'Collocations are to be studied within grammatical matrices [which] in turn depend for their recognition on the observation of collocational similarities' (Mitchell, 1971: 65).

Sinclair (1991: 109-112) acknowledges the interrelation of the grammatical and

lexical levels. He proposes two principles *'in order to explain the way in which meaning arises from language text'*. The grammatical level is represented by the *'open-choice principle'*, which sees *'language text as the result of a very large number of complex choices ... the only restraint [being] grammaticalness'*. The *'idiom principle'* represents the lexical level and accounts for *'the restraints that are not captured by the open-choice model'* – *'collocation ... illustrates the idiom principle'* (p. 115).

Since then, lexical patterning has been a common theme in the literature (Francis and Hunston, 1996, 1998; Partington, 1998; Stubbs, 1996). Patterning refers to the regularities observed in language due to the consistent repetition of co-occurring units of various kinds (lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, etc.). As Hunston and Francis (2000: 37) put it:

'The patterns of a word can be defined as all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning. A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs relatively frequently, if it is dependent on a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it.'

However, what makes matters really complicated is the inconsistency with which the terms 'idiom' and 'collocation' (as well as 'multiword expressions', 'fixed/free combinations' or even 'chunks') are used by different analysts. In this sense, Wray (2002: 9) offers up to 52 different terms, these being only some of the wide terminology used for similar phenomena, e.g.

New York, ad hoc, by and large, kick the bucket, part of speech, in step, trip the light fantastic, telephone box, call (someone) up, take a walk, do a number on (someone), take (unfair) advantage (of), pull strings, kindle excitement, fresh air, salt and pepper, add up, ...

One insight of the lexico-grammar perspective (Sinclair, 1991) has been to question the traditional idea of the word class and to argue instead that there is a cline, with high frequency polyvalent items at one end (*grammatical words* are polyvalent because of the wider variety of words they collocate with) and highly specialized items at the other (*lexical words* whose collocational context is more likely to be restricted). In between both ends of the spectrum lexicologists recognize lexical complexes with varying degrees of semantic and syntagmatic cohesion: idioms (*kicked the bucket*), polywords (*by and large*), sentence frames or ‘prefabs’ (*the fact that*) and collocations. Collocations can be bound as in *foot the bill*, *shrug one’s shoulders* (where one lexical word is obligatory), or unbound as in *a [time expression] ago* or *[something negative] sets in*. It has been noted that grammatical words play a particularly important role in the cohesion of these expressions, even where lexical items are seen to be central. This is particularly true of collocational frameworks of the type *a [quantity] of, too [relative time] in the [time expression]* (*a bucket of, too late in the day, etc.*) (Renouf and Sinclair, 1991).

Wood (1981, as cited in Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992: 177-178) suggests the following continuum (from most to least predictable/fixed): *idioms - collocations - colligations - free combinations*. At the one end of this cline, ‘idioms’ seem to be definable both from their semantic characteristics and the fixity of their constituents. They are seen to function semantically as a single unit, and to be more or less ‘non-productive’ (see also Mitchell, 1971: 53, 57), that is, they tend not to allow for substitution of their elements, nor for grammatical or syntactic alterations. An extreme case is the one of ‘true idioms’, which are described as ‘completely frozen’. At the other end, ‘free combinations’ are ‘really compositional and productive’. Collocations are presented as ‘roughly predictable ... yet restricted to certain specified items’. Colligations are ‘generalisable classes of collocations, for which at least one construct is specified by category rather than as a distinct lexical item’.

Roughly speaking, what seems to be true is that there are probably no words in the English language that do not have their special preferences with regard to the words they like to occur with. Collocations merge into idioms, and there is probably no principled way of drawing the borderline between words that collocate and words that form an idiom, though it is easy enough to find examples which are clearly one or the other. Or, as Moon (1998) points out,

‘...there is no unified phenomenon to describe but rather a complex of features that interact in various, often untidy, ways and represent a broad continuum between non-compositional (or idiomatic) and compositional groups of words.’

Therefore, even when *idiom* and *collocation* are often seen as similar, overlapping terms, the same group of words can be treated as both an idiom and a collocation, but with a different focus:

1. idioms focus mainly on the meaning of the whole;
2. **collocation**, however, **is concerned with combinations of words** which do or do not occur (Lewis, 2000: 132).

As we can see, *collocation* is one of the most important technical concepts in lexical grammar and corpus linguistics (Sinclair, 1991; Stubbs, 2001; Hoey, 2005), but it is defined in various ways according to the different authors. It is also frequently used to indicate the actual, observed co-occurrence (either noted by a human analyst or taken from a corpus by software) of one lexical item with others within a short span of text, usually by convention limited to circa five words to the left or right of the searchword, that is, the lexical item under investigation.

A number of authors, however, including Leech (1974), Partington (1998) and Hoey (2005), have also described collocation as a psychological phenomenon. The most extensive modern description of collocation as a psychological

phenomenon is to be found in Hoey's Theory of Lexical Priming.

The theory holds that, by repeated acquaintance with a lexical item along with processes of analogy with other similar items, normal language users learn -- are *primed* to recognise and then reproduce in their own discourse -- the typical behaviour of that item in interaction with other items. In other words, every word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative effects of an individual's encounters with the word. If one of the effects of the initial priming is that regular word sequences are constructed, these are also in turn primed (Hoey, 2005: 13).

In particular, language users are primed to know which other lexical items a word co-occurs with regularly (*collocation*), which semantic sets it occurs with (*semantic preference*, Sinclair 2004), which grammatical categories it co-occurs with or avoids and which grammatical positions it favours or disfavors (*colligation*), and which positions in an utterance or sentence or paragraph or entire text it tends to prefer or avoid occurring in (*textual collocation*).

The user, then, reproduces this behaviour in his/her own linguistic performance. It is part of a native speaker's communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) to know what is preferred and what is unusual combinatorial behaviour of items (and of speakers) in given conditions, that is, in a given discourse type they are familiar with. Through lifelong exposure to a language, native speakers acquire what Firth calls '*expectancies*' (1957: 195) of which items commonly co-occur with which others in texts.

By extension, the lexical item itself is said to be primed to behave in these particular ways, and so lexical priming is also regarded as a textual as well as a mental phenomenon. The complete array of an item's combinatorial behaviours is known as its *priming prosody*.

As White (2003: 146) says,

'Language is pre-eminently relational so that the use of any given term will tend to call up or trigger the use of related words. [...] Furthermore, certain rhetorical uses of language (e.g. poetry, proverbs, publicity slogans, press headlines, etc.) exploit this natural potential to very high degrees of sophistication. One assessment of such language behaviour could assign this phenomenon to the use of lexis and concretely to lexical priming. In this view, the use of one lexical item can prime or trigger the use of related items.'

2.2.1 A definition of 'collocation'

Some authors have suggested that 'collocations' are

'...two or more words which occur significantly often together within a predefined window in a given large corpus' (Wolff / Quasthoff, 2002);

'...a sequence of two or more consecutive words that has characteristics of a syntactic and semantic unit, and whose exact and unambiguous meaning cannot be derived directly from the meaning or connotation of its components'. (Choueka, 1988)

The definition of 'collocation' we will follow in the present study is, however, that of Hill (in Lewis, 2000: 51): *'A collocation is a predictable combination of words'*.

2.3 A definition of 'intertextuality'

As previously mentioned, the term *intertextuality* was coined by J. Kristeva in the 1960s and developed mainly within literary studies. The origins and later

evolution of the term up to the present have been briefly summarised in section II.1 above.

Burger (1991: 17f.), on the other hand, applies the notion of *intertextuality* to the field of phraseology; by this term the author mainly understands the availability of well-known, recognisable text fragments (like aphorisms, titles of books or films, etc.) for producing other small texts, e.g. advertising slogans, headlines and the like. Danesi (1994: 276) on his part defines *intertextuality* as ‘*where a text alludes to another text*’.

In our opinion their consideration of the theme suits the object of the present investigation, as the type of ‘intertextual phenomena’ we are dealing with are originally quotations or allusions to certain texts that can be identified as their sources. Similarly, in the present study, we use the term *textual dependence* to refer to the intertextual relation between the collocations we are concerned with and other texts that can be identified as their sources (Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen, 2005: 102, 215).

2.4 Titles and ‘phoricity’

We are here mainly concerned with Baicchi’s ideas (2003, 2004) on the relation between the words titles contain and their co-referents within the text base. Her approach focuses on cataphora, i.e. on the receiver’s perspective, and the specific phenomenon she investigates is the marked status of titles in terms of *phoricity*.

According to this author, titles point forward to their text base for solution and direct the text receiver toward the reading process with a puzzling task: that of seeking the co-referent items and of matching them with the cataphoric co-referents contained in the title. Such a process seems to be inferential in nature.

The text producer directs his prospective reader towards the key elements of the text. In this sense, **the title** may be considered the maximum generalization of the text, which **foregrounds some elements and backgrounds others**. The receiver's perspective is also privileged by the **cataphoric nature of the title, which is intended to create expectations**.

As a general statement, Baicchi sees titles as reduced texts that have the same textual requirements as longer ones. The referential function of titles can be exophoric and endophoric reflecting the fact that they may at the same time refer to entities in the outside world and to entities present in the text base. Exophoric aspects include semantic reference, indexical reference (reference to the writer's attitude), and also intertextual reference, when pointing to previous text titles. Endophoric titles limit their range of reference to the text base and have an intratextual function. They are cataphoric from the perspective of the text receiver and anaphoric from the perspective of the text producer, who chooses a title only after completing the text base. Let us consider the following headlines:

- 15) a) **George Bush's passage to India**
(*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, front cover)

- 47) **Spain. Viva, Zapatero!**
An unexpected tale of success in Madrid.
(*The Economist*, July 29th 2006, p.15)

- 50) **Evolution: Stooping to conquer** (S&T)
How to become multicellular.
(*The Economist*, August 12th 2006, p.63)

In headlines 15 a) and 47) the referents for both the first and second characters mentioned are easily accessed, given the world knowledge that the reader is presumed to have, whereas in 50) the receiver's interest is naturally focused on

who the actor of the action is, but only recourse to the text base (a newspaper article) will help the receiver recover the information required. It directs the reader to the text for reference and, therefore, the headline is clearly definable as cataphoric (on the part of the receiver). At the same time, the three headlines are also exophoric in that an allusion or intertextual reference is made to certain films or literary works, which is intended to create expectations in the reader.

When titles are mainly exophoric, that is, they refer to the general context, they are less 'complex' in terms of interpretability, as they can also rely on the receiver's world knowledge. By contrast, strictly endophoric titles may require exclusive recourse to the text for their interpretability, and they rely on their text base to define cohesion and acquire coherence. Their 'complexity' and consequent processing difficulty in the latter case is definable according to various parameters:

- a) a low degree of explicitness, that is, more difficult access to the referent;
- b) delay in the co-interpretation;
- c) few congruent elements between title and text base, that is, titles are expected to contain elements similar to or congruent with the text content;
- d) remoteness of co-referents from title cataphors, that is, quantity of text separating the cataphoric items in the title and their co-referents in the text.

These aspects are partly quantitative (c,d) and partly qualitative (a,b); in the second case we are dealing with features that are semantic in character and based on a criterion of transparency, i.e. access to referent. According to their level of transparency, that is, their ability to allow a prediction of the text base, titles are accommodated along the following scale of complexity:

- 1) totally transparent titles, which clearly identify the referent; an example from The Economist Corpus could be the following:

58) b) **Steel. Arcelor, up in arms**

PARIS. Arcelor's dubious defence against Mittal Steel's hostile bid. (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.64)

The headline / title clearly identifies the referent (Arcelor) and is linked to its text postcedent by repetition of names. This allows easy retrieval of the referent.

- 2) Partially transparent titles: these contain a referent that has some degree of indeterminacy to be clarified during the reading process. This frequently happens when general nouns, such as 'man', 'fact', 'case', 'person' etc., are used; e.g.

54) **Japan. The man who remade Japan**

TOKYO. But now Junichiro Koizumi is stepping down.
(*The Economist*, September 16th 2006, p.65)

The access to the referent is more difficult because a general noun allows a wide range of possible referents. In headlines / titles like this one the more general the nouns the more cataphoric items to be solved, and the more complex the headline / title.

- 3) Symbolically related titles, that is, those that contain cataphors that are only metaphorically related to their co-referents in the text base; e.g.

81) a) **America and Iraq. Waiting for Baker**

WASHINGTON, DC. All eyes are on the Iraq Study Group.
(*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.45)

b) **America's next president. Waiting for Al**

WASHINGTON, DC. As voters weary of the front-runners, what a chance for Al Gore.

(*The Economist*, February 24th 2007, p.49)

According to the ensuing news items, in 81 a) there seem to be great expectations that Mr Baker, former Secretary of State, co-chairs the Iraq Study Group (ISG). In 81 b) Al Gore is expected to win the primaries in the Democratic Party.

- 4) Unrelated or opaque titles, which are related to their texts through unconventional paths of interpretation, as they have no obvious relation with elements in the text base. For example, we have previously mentioned *The Name of the Rose*. This title is relatable to the text base only via vague associations with the historical background in which the plot is set and allows for much interpretive freedom on the part of the receiver. In our corpus, for instance,

60) **Mexico. Under the volcano**

OAXACA. The governor v most of the people.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.64)

The accompanying news is not about a real volcano and its devastating effects, but about the conflict between the people in Oaxaca and their governor, whose election was apparently fraudulent.

Cataphoric titles are, therefore, pending connections that will not be processed until their postcedents occur in the text. Actual remoteness, i.e. a wide gap between cataphoric titles and text postcedents, may cause a temporary suspension of coherence; so **when a text producer wants to attract the receiver's interest,**

the solution of the postcedent is delayed, sometimes even to the end of the reading process. The search for a link between a cataphoric item and its co-referent is a problem-solving activity, based on subsequent steps of text processing, which is carried on until the postcedent occurs. In this sense, cataphora is a marked phenomenon as compared to anaphora, since it represents a momentary gap of information.

3 Aims and research questions

Our main aim when initiating this investigation was to study the phenomenon of ‘collocation’ in the language of economics and politics, for the reasons explained in section III.1 above (Introduction). A brief look at the headlines of one of the most important British publications, *The Economist*, showed what in principle had seemed a tendency to use a specific type of collocation, namely, what Lewis (2000: 133) calls ‘part of a quotation’, making reference to the titles of books, films and pieces of music. Sometimes the whole of them was quoted, some others only part of them was. Some examples are the following:

14)⁵ **Venezuela. Mission impossible**

CARACAS. Poverty is at last falling under Hugo Chávez, but not nearly as much as it should have given his country’s vast oil windfall. (*The Economist*, February 18th 2006, p.46)

32) **Israel’s new government. Farewell to the generals**

TEL AVIV. What change will be brought about by civilians running Israel? (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.46)

However, a concretion of the scope we are going to take is found to be necessary: although the following headlines are also original ones, they are not going to be taken into account and, therefore, have been discarded, as the intertextual sources are not original titles of works, but other excerpts or characters within them; or the headlines come from other sources that are not the titles of literary, film or musical works. These are for example:

⁵ When there is a number just before a headline, it refers to the order in which that headline appears in *Appendix I* at the end of this work.

* Headlines in which certain words have been changed, but nonetheless remind us of precise quotations within a book or piece of writing, e.g.

Currency pegs in China. Yuan for all, all for yuan

Is it time for China's currencies to get hitched?

(*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.76)

Australia's culture wars. To flag or not to flag

How Australians see themselves has become a theme for the coming election. (*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.58)

* Headlines in which only a reference to the characters within the book or film is made, e.g.

The three Scrooges

Companies will one day rue today's miserly approach to investment.

(*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.58)

China's pied piper

Jack Ma is attracting a following among entrepreneurs in China and internet companies worldwide.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.66)

* Slogans and the like:

The Doha trade round. Just do it

It is make-or-break time this spring for global trade talks.

(*The Economist*, January 13th 2007, p.60)

On the other hand, some instances from the Science and Technology (S&T) section within *The Economist* were incorporated, as, from the point of view of

their characteristics, they fully fell within the category we are going to analyse, e.g.

46) **Space travel. From Russia, with love**

A private space “building” is launched.

(*The Economist*, July 22nd 2006, p.82)

The general theoretical background for the present thesis is the broad framework of Cognitive Linguistics, which was introduced by George Lakoff (1980, 1987), Ronald Langacker (1987, 1991), Mark Johnson (1980, 1987), Len Talmy (2000), Mark Turner (1987, 1996), and later developed by these and other authors. The cognitive approach addresses language as a system for categorising and structuring the world. In contrast to the formal linguistic theories inspired by Noam Chomsky, which are primarily concerned with the innate formal structure of language (knowledge of the language), cognitive linguists are essentially interested in knowledge of the world, and more specifically in what role language plays in acquiring this knowledge. Following from this very general perspective of language as a system of categories is the central interest in semantics, the study of meaning, within the cognitive-linguistic framework.

The cognitive approach requires the uncovering of all relevant kinds of knowledge standing behind the linguistic expressions under consideration. Addressing different kinds of knowledge while describing linguistic phenomena is not an invention of Cognitive Linguistics but an integral part of the traditional philological approach to those phenomena. Cognitive Linguistics, however, has rediscovered this tradition (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005: 358).

Our goal, therefore, is not only to describe the collocations observed but also to explain why they appear in headlines of news whose business and political content shows in principle no relationship with them. The cognitive approach to the analysis of linguistic phenomena seems to be the most appropriate for

achieving this goal. One reason for the significance of the cognitive approach is the salience of the image component in the content plane of these collocations. In this sense Langacker (1988: 7), for instance, uses the term *imagery* to indicate our ability to mentally construe a conceived situation in alternate ways. A pivotal claim of cognitive grammar is that linguistic expressions and grammatical constructions embody conventional imagery, which constitutes an essential aspect of their semantic value. In choosing a particular expression or construction, a speaker construes the conceived situation in a certain way, i.e. he/she selects one particular image (from a range of alternatives) to structure its conceptual content for expressive purposes. For example, as he suggests, despite the objective equivalence of this sentence pair

- a) The glass is half-empty
- b) The glass is half-full,

each sentence in the pair is semantically distinct because it imposes contrasting images in the conceived situation. Two expressions may be functionally equivalent and serve as approximate paraphrases of one another, and yet be semantically distinct by virtue of the contrasting images they incorporate. We shift from image to image with great facility, even within the confines of a single sentence, and freely create new ones when those suggested by linguistic convention do not satisfy our needs (Langacker, 1988: 11).

Another reason for the significance of the cognitive approach in our thesis is that one of the aims of the cognitive approach is to integrate conceptual entities (among them conceptual structures encoded in the inner form of those collocations) into the linguistic analysis.

All this provided a good basis for an exploratory study which would help:

- discover what the real function of headlines is in the cases we are analysing;
- discover to what extent the textual dependence we appreciate in those

collocations contributes to the understanding of the headlines in relation to the accompanying news;

- discover whether we are dealing with stereotype contexts that could explain the occurrence of these collocations;
- discover their motivation, that is, their relationship with the accompanying news, which could explain the appearance of those collocations in the headlines;
- reveal the patterns of usage and variability in the observed phenomena;
- discover whether other rhetorical devices co-occur together with the collocations under study;
- if they do, discover what role these play in the general construction of meaning.

The research questions which are addressed are the following:

- what is the real function of headlines in the cases we are analysing?
- To what extent does the textual dependence of those collocations contribute to the understanding of the headlines in relation to the accompanying news?
- Are we dealing with any stereotype contexts that could explain the occurrence of these collocations?
- What is their motivation, that is, their relationship with the accompanying news?
- Which are the patterns of usage and variability in the observed phenomena?
- Are there any other rhetorical devices which co-occur together with the collocations under study?
- If so, what role do they play in the general construction of meaning?

As mentioned, in our 2007-2008 previous study we were not able to answer the question why ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations (Lewis, 2000: 133) are used in the headlines of business and political news. We realized that the content of the news items showed in principle no relationship with this type of headlines. However, that was not considered then the object of our research since we concentrated only on the statistical analysis. We thought that the fact that this rhetorical resource attracted our attention as readers so much, linked to its low

frequency of occurrence suggested that the journalist did not want to ‘overuse’ them. That is, the journalist was conscious of the power these collocations have when trying to catch the reader’s attention and he/she did not want the impact on the reader to be affected.

After some reflection, however, we considered this explanation quite simplistic and lacking in any case of authorial evidence: as our study had mainly focused on the statistical analysis of the data, no literature therefore had been explored in order to reach conclusions in that respect. In this sense we considered it was just an impression without any supporting proofs. We could not, nonetheless, accept it or discard it so easily without trying at least to get to a feasible explanation that was satisfactory for us.

Within this context, then, a working **hypothesis** in the present research is to test our initial impression that the ultimate goal of these headlines is to attract the reader’s attention, so that we can finally accept it or reject it.

In this respect we will seek to show that the use of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations in news headlines is a lexico-syntactically productive phenomenon which blends into other forms of figurative language, for example word play, metaphor and metonymy. This is to develop Crystal’s (1998: 102) point that there is in fact a scale of language play from some forms of word play which demand only linguistic competence of the hearer / reader to play at the phrasal level which relies on knowledge of idiomatic and institutionalised⁶ meanings, to other types of collocations, such as the ones we wish to study, which demand detailed cultural knowledge.

It is also the concern of this study to show not only that our collocations blend

⁶ For an idiom to express the meaning that it does, it must be *institutionalised*. Institutionalisation of lexis means that there is a received meaning which is understood by all (Philip, 2011: 15).

into other forms of figurative language but that they fulfil similar functions. Their deliberate triggering of apparently irrelevant meanings may be discussed within the framework of conversational implicature established by deliberate flouting of the co-operative principle supposed to underlie rational communication (Grice 1975). The principle of relevance suggested by Sperber and Wilson (1995) provides an alternative descriptive framework and is actually more in accord with our study, as we believe this type of resources in language is the norm rather than the exception in many communicative situations (Gibbs, 2002). It has even been shown that certain sorts of purposive ambiguity may be more common in language than has traditionally been assumed (Nerlich and Clarke, 2001). It is within this context of purposive ambiguity that the functions of our collocations in newspaper headlines will be approached. On the other hand, *Blending Theory* offers a plausible explanation to the fact that different abstract domains of discourse blend in only one linguistic sequence, which would explain the variations of the canonical forms accounted for in our corpus.

At the same time, as Veale (2012) suggests, novelty only ever makes sense in relation to the familiar, and as will become clear in the pages to follow, linguistic creativity does not rely on privileged sources of knowledge that must be acquired through intense scholarship, but on the kind of everyday knowledge – of clichés, stereotypes and conventions – that we all possess in abundance and which we all take for granted. We use this familiar knowledge to create familiar surprises for an audience, as well as novel uses of language, that depart from the familiar yet which are understandable only in relation to the familiar. We use linguistic creativity to re-invent and re-imagine the familiar, so that everything old can be made new again.

4 Materials and method

4.1 Data collection

Our initial major concern was the compilation of a sample with all the headlines that appeared in the different issues of *The Economist* published throughout 2006 up to the end of February 2007. In all and for this period of time 3,367 headlines were examined (The Economist Corpus), all of them in 52 issues. This timeline of one year provided us with the possibility of studying the various discursive and linguistic strategies used in headlines by *The Economist*.

It was curious to notice that these headlines sometimes resembled the titles of books, TV series, films and pieces of music. In a first stage 83 instances of this phenomenon were identified by hand-searching the total number of 3,367 headlines. However, after a second review 40 more instances were found, bringing the total to 123 (118 headlines + 5 sub-headings). Sub-headings were only considered when they contained the type of collocations under study. They are all included in *Appendix 1* at the end of the thesis.

All the headlines of the different parts of the magazine were taken into account, except for the advertising and *Obituary* sections, and the *Books* section. The former were not considered relevant for the present research; the latter was also excluded since we were basically interested in the news genre.

There are, though, many complexities involved in the empirical study of expressions dealing with formulaicity / phraseology: due to their occurrence ratios, even large scale corpora churn up relatively few examples, and where variants appear, these easily escape corpus searches (Langlotz, 2007: 226-229). Lennon (2004: 17) clearly describes a similar situation as follows:

‘The possibility of conducting a computerised search of a newspaper corpus for allusions was considered, but rejected as inappropriate since

there was no definable set of utterances or words to look for. Any search system based on single words would be doomed to failure. “To be or not to be” is probably the most well-known quotation in English, and there turned out to be several allusions to it in the corpus, but it is made up of words which are all extremely common so that a search based on any of its words would generate thousands of examples. [...]

Computer search would work best for target categories which consist of a more or less closed set and which have been collected together in dictionary form, for example proverbs. But for other categories it would be difficult or impossible to base the search on a defined set of targets, since no set can ever be comprehensive. Even for quotations, at first sight a likely candidate, computer search based on a standard dictionary of quotations such as the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Quotations would tend to be biased towards literary quotations, and many of the quotational allusions in newspapers to songs and other non-literary sources from popular culture would be necessarily excluded.

This would be true quid pro quo not only of quotations but also of titles (of literary works, popular fiction, songs, films, TV programmes etc.)[...]. There is nothing in the phrase itself to show that it is being used allusively. This only becomes apparent when the accompanying article is read.’

In our experience checking how ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations were portrayed in already existing digital corpora turned out, in fact, to be a time-consuming line of investigation that led us nowhere and had, therefore, to be abandoned: Professor Davies’s Time Corpus of American English only offered results for two out of the initial 83 collocations from The Economist Corpus.

Besides, our hand search allowed us to be in line with Deignan’s (2005) call for greater emphasis on naturally occurring language use, as our corpus consists of **authentic** business and political press headlines.

4.2 Analysis methodology

The analytical approach used in this study combines both *quantitative* and *qualitative* methodologies. In other words, it was possible to combine the *quantitative* types of analysis used in Corpus Linguistics, which generally take into consideration large quantities of texts and subject them to statistical analysis, with the *qualitative* methods more typical of discourse studies which examine in detail much smaller amounts of discourse, frequently single texts. In its purest form:

‘the quantitative paradigm hinges on a hypothetical-deductive mode of inquiry and a fairly rigid sequence of interventions which foresee the performance of experiments in controlled situations and the statistical measurement of data in order to reach reliable and replicable results which allow for generalisations and the prediction of a cause and effect relationship’ (Haarman *et al.*, quoted in Partington, 2006: 4).

Whereas:

‘qualitative methodology instead proceeds in a non-experimental or exploratory fashion, draws considerably on insight and intuition and derives results from the systematic observation of phenomena in such a way that theories of hypotheses emerge inductively and are said to be “grounded” in data’ (Haarman *et al.*, quoted in Partington, 2006: 4).

Many experimenters have questioned this rigid dichotomy, maintaining that elements of both paradigms can usefully be employed in the research process. Just as the experimental researcher subjectively intervenes in the research design when formulating hypotheses and in deciding cut-off points for statistical analysis, so the qualitative researcher cannot be insensitive to quantity in the interpretation of data (Partington, 2006: 4).

In this way, once our collocation database had been set up,

A) those 123 headlines were then further examined to identify possible regularities or common characteristics that enabled us to get to generalizations. These regarded

- 1) their typology;
- 2) the origin of the collocation; and
- 3) their length.

B) The next step was to look carefully into the accompanying news to those 123 headlines and try, therefore, to establish their motivation, that is, their relationship with the accompanying news, which could explain the appearance of those collocations in the headlines.

C) Further analysis provided us with additional information regarding rhetorical devices and other related phenomena – metaphor, metonymy, oxymoron, parallelism, morpho-grammatical aspects, phonic elements, wit and humour, punning, irony -- that could be of interest for the present research.

We will look into all these aspects in the following section.

5 Results and findings

5.1 As mentioned, we first examined the 123 headlines to identify possible **regularities and common qualities**. These regarded 1) their typology; 2) the origin of the collocation; and 3) their length.

5.1.1 Typology.

According to Partington (2009: 1806),

‘...newspaper texts are, of course, meant principally to be read rather than spoken. This gives rise to the possibility of playing with the visual shape of words’

He establishes the following taxonomy (2009: 1806) by distinguishing the different sorts of change possible on any kind of information string:

- a) **substitution**: this mechanism can be minimal, even of a single letter or phoneme, or of a single grammatical item, or of a single lexical word; however, the meaning of the whole phrase is transformed. On occasions the substitution process can be drastic, as in cases of both grammatical and lexical substitution; e.g.

35) **Computers. For whom the Dell tolls**

The world’s biggest computer-maker is stumbling.
(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.64)

76) **Hedge funds. Mutiny about the bounty**

The risks from hedge funds are not that high. Nor, investors should note, are the rewards. (*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.16)

1) **Uganda. All the presidents' wives**

RUHAMA COUNTY. It helps to have a well-known husband in the forthcoming elections. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.46)

15) **George Bush's passage to India**

(*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, front cover)

The technique of modifying a very well-known quotation or title by lexical substitution on a slot-and-filler basis while maintaining its syntactic structure is particularly common in headlines and serves to establish a semantic connection to the topic of the accompanying article (Lennon, 2004: 72).

Black (1989), on the other hand, stressed that the aesthetic effect of the allusion derives from the word-play effect obtained by substitution, especially when the replaced and substituted items are formally related but contrast semantically. It is lexical modification, especially lexical substitution, which has this rhetorical motivation, whereas morpho-grammatical modification is more likely to be motivated by the need to integrate the quotation into its new syntactic environment.

Modification is a boundless resource for the writer's or speaker's creativity and can thus be stretched very far, provided that the base form is recognizable, that cohesion and coherence are not endangered and that the stylistic effect endures. Where communicative intent cannot be inferred, listeners / readers may either fail to recognize the collocation itself or recognize it but view the modified utterance as a mistake by the speaker / writer. The modification will be productive if the relation between the original constituents and their substitutes and the modification is viewed as intentional, not inadvertent (Vrbinc and Vrbinc, 2011: 78).

- b) **Abbreviation**, that is, shortening or deletion of certain elements from the original form, especially if this is long; e.g.

16) **Peru's election. With friends like these**

LIMA. Hugo Chávez's meddling backfires.

(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.52)

In this case we seem to find a two-fold phenomenon: on the one hand, this is the title of a film shot in 1998 by P. F. Messina; on the other hand, it is the first half of the string, '*with friends like these, who needs enemies?*' As headlines usually comply with the requirement that they need to be short, and as proverbs often consist of a bipartite structure, shortenings where the whole second part is left out are typical (Jaki, 2014: 26), as the example illustrates. From an analytical viewpoint, this type of shortening appears to be less complex than other types of modifications, for it does not usually lead to semantic changes when compared with the original (Burger, 2010: 160).

- c) **Insertion** of an element (a word, a suffix, ...) in the middle of the original collocation, e.g.

30) **Afghanistan. Bleak courthouse**

KABUL. Where justice still leans on the Koran and the whip.

(*The Economist*, April 15th 2006, p.60)

Similarly, we find **expansions**, only that the additions usually appear before or after the original title, e.g.

74) **Global health. Less Mary Poppins**

The World Health Organization needs to help sick people, not be a nanny. (*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.13)

11) **Gloom in France. The unbearable lightness of being overtaken.**

PARIS. The French are losing the consolation of doing better than the Germans. (*The Economist*, February 4th 2006, p.25)

58) a) **Urban renewal. Up in arms about the Yards**

BROOKLYN. A project recalls the mistakes of the past.
(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.48)

The examples above show that, in general, our collocations are mostly expanded by adjectives, adverbs or prepositional phrases in order to bring them closer to the content context of the ensuing news item or simply to add more semantic information to the canonical forms.

d) **Rephrasing**, i.e. reordering of the parts of the original expression, e.g.

47) **Spain. Viva, Zapatero!**

An unexpected tale of success in Madrid.
(*The Economist*, July 29th 2006, p.15)

The meaning is completely transformed through formal change: the abstract noun ‘unexpected’ in the original collocation (*Tales of the Unexpected*, by Roald Dahl) becomes an adjective in attributive position in the sub-heading. In addition, a grammatical modification has taken place: the plural form ‘tales’ has become singular. According to Jaki (2014: 27), this technique can be considered an excellent method of proving the writer’s cleverness.

So far, all modified forms have undergone some extent of formal change. No formal change whatsoever is involved in one very common type of modification, which Jaki (2014: 28) calls **literalisation**. It involves the actualisation of the literal meaning. In ordinary idiom processing, this meaning is backgrounded in comparison to the phraseological meaning. In this category we included,

therefore, all the headlines in which the titles had not suffered any variation at all.

Even though this type is usually not mentioned in classifications of modifications, there is abundant research on literalisation available (for example, Burger, 2010). Fleischer (1997: 264) even stresses that literalisation and modification have to be kept clearly apart. It is also interesting that some publications treat this type of modifications as a non-modified use, but as a pun in the form of an interaction between a commonly used phraseological unit and the co-text (cf. Hundt, 1997: 135), that is, its typical context of use in actual stretches of texts or discourse.

It is usually agreed that there are three major subtypes of literalisation, namely

- a) the foregrounding of the literal level,
- b) the foregrounding of the phraseological level, and
- c) the simultaneous actualisation of both.

The following examples will demonstrate the mechanisms of the different subtypes:

17) **Darfur. Never say never again**

Three years after western Sudan burst into flames, NATO should provide an extinguisher. (*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, p.13)

In 17), the literal meaning of the collocation is foregrounded. The article to this newspaper headline constitutes an account of the reasons why the UN and NATO had not yet intervened in the Darfur conflict at the time the article was written. On the one hand, China and Russia, both members of the UN Security Council and with economic interests in the area, were reluctant to intervene in Sudan; on the other, the UN alone lacked the means and, in any case, putting together a UN force would take many months. However, as violence and the genocide of civilians in Darfur still continue fiercer than ever, the UN Security Council could give NATO its 'blessing' to send in their troops, even with China and Russia's approval.

Never Say Never Again is, according to its exophoric reference, a 1983 spy film based on the James Bond novel *Thunderball*. The film was directed by Irvin Kershner and stars Sean Connery as British Secret Service agent James Bond, 007, marking his return to the role twelve years after *Diamonds Are Forever*. The film's title is a reference to Connery's reported declaration in 1971 that he would 'never again' play that role. As Connery was 52 at the time of filming, the storyline features an ageing Bond, who is brought back into action to investigate the theft of two nuclear weapons.

What is relevant, then, is that the intended meaning of the collocation is for a situation one can never say it will last forever.

The effect is inverse for the following example, which was used as the headline for an article on political corruption in Kenya. Here we have the foregrounding of the phraseological level:

9) **Kenya. Caught in the act**

NAIROBI AND OXFORD. A courageous investigator uncovers more corruption in Kenya. But will the government, or the country's president, be shamed into taking action? (*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.45)

In an ordinary context '*to be caught in the act*', a synonym for '*to be caught red-handed*', would mean 'to be discovered doing something wrong or committing a crime' (*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*, 1987: 14), just the situation portrayed in the ensuing article, where we read:

'At high levels, corruption involves ministers and civil servants paying as much state cash as possible for shoddy goods or services never rendered'.

In this case, according to <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>, the exophoric reference is to a whole list of items which in no case have any connection with illegality. These regard music:

- album (1983), and the title song, by Redgum,

- album (1975) by Commodores,
- album (1989) by Eric Gable,
- album (1975) by Grand Funk Railroad,
- album (1984) by Styx,
- album (2005) by Michael Bublé,
- album (2003) by Pamyua.

Films and television:

- an episode of *Frasier*,
- a 1970 episode of *The Goodies*,
- a 2011 episode of *Modern Family*,
- a 1995 episode of *The Outer Limits*,
- a controversial video produced by Barrie Goulding,
- a DVD release of the American documentary television show *COPS*.

Others:

- *Garfield: Caught in the Act*, a 1995 game for the Sega Genesis;
- a ballet by Tim Rushton,
- alternative title of *Kilroy Was Here*, a rock opera film by Styx,
- *Caught in the Act: The Feldberg Investigation*, a 1994 book by Melody MacDonald on animal-testing practises.

The third major subtype of literalisation, namely the simultaneous actualisation of both the literal and the phraseological levels, is demonstrated in the following instance:

67) **A survey of France. Minority report**

The trouble with integration. (*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.11)

The intertextual dependence between this headline and its source takes us to a film directed by Steven Spielberg in 2002 and starred by Tom Cruise. In the year

2054, a so-called ‘pre-crime division’ is working around Washington, DC. Its purpose is to use the precog(nitive) potential of three genetically altered humans to prevent murders. When the three precogs, who only work together, floating connected in a tank of fluid, have a vision, the names of the victim and the perpetrator as well as video imagery of the crime and the exact time it will happen, are given out to the special cops who then try to prevent the crime from happening.

The accompanying news item, as the sub-heading already anticipates, analyses the integration problems and riots caused in the suburbs of Paris by youngsters of black African and North African origin in 2006. When the riots started, they were treated in some quarters as a ‘suburban *intifada*’. However, a report by the French Renseignements Généraux, the domestic intelligence-gathering service, found the opposite. Islamists had ‘*no role in setting off the violence or in fanning it*’, it concluded. Rather, the rioting was a ‘popular revolt’ provoked by a toxic concentration of social problems in which organized criminal gangs, shaken by recent police raids, took advantage of the uprising in order to remind the police of their power.

In both the film and the article the situation is similar: there is a report to the authorities about illegal actions in order to arrest the criminals. This report or official account is prepared by a committee or other group of people who have been working on the subject (*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*, 1987:1227): in the film, the ‘pre-crime division’; in the news item, the French Renseignements Généraux. In the news item, however, due to the polysemous character of the word ‘minority’, the meaning of the collocation could be said to be actualised, as it is applied to a social minority -- that of youngsters of black African and North African origin. In this sense ‘minority report’ (= official account) could be interpreted as a ‘report on a minority’ that is causing problems in the suburbs of Paris.

Therefore, as Veale (2012: 31) suggests,

‘... the context of use, rather than any formal characteristic of the variation, is the final arbiter of what is actually meant. Indeed, some creative variations on a familiar phrase make no change at all to the original wording’.

Taking into account the previous classification, *table 4* summarizes the number of cases identified in each category:

The Economist Corpus		
Number of headlines reviewed	Type of modification	
3,367	Substitutions	54 (42.18%)
	Abbreviations	1 (0.78%)
	Insertions	7 (5.46%)
	Expansions	23 (17.96%)
	Rephrasings	1 (0.78%)
	Literalisation	42 (32.81%)
	Number of phenomena identified	128

Table 4

We must bear in mind, though, that the total of headlines analysed (123) cannot match the total of linguistic phenomena identified (128), as there are a number of headlines that contain at least two of the phenomena simultaneously (mixed types). In this way the semantic message carried by a modified unit is intensified. For example, n. 69 shows substitution and expansion:

69) Venezuela. Death in El Dorado

LA PARAGUA. Gold miners clash with Hugo Chavez’s revolution.

(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

The original titles were *Death on the Nile* -- Agatha Christie's 1937 novel, on which J. Guillermin based his 1978 film, starring P. Ustinov – and *El Dorado* – a 1966 film directed by Howard Hawks, with J. Wayne.

Similarly several other headlines show insertions and expansions at the same time, e.g.

4) **Nigeria. Pouring trouble on oily waters**

LAGOS. Rebels in the main oil region are threatening stability nationwide. (*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.41)

The original title being *Troubled waters*, a 2006 film directed by J. Stead.

The data in our corpus show that journalists seem to build up a headline by means of three favourite processes:

- 1) by taking the original titles as such, without any variations at all (literalisation);
- 2) by substituting some of the elements, or
- 3) by expanding the original collocation.

The least common way, perhaps due to the greater complexity implied, is that of rephrasing. There is also one case of abbreviation (n. 16), but we must consider the fact that this collocation comes originally from a saying widely known, too, where part of it can be easily deleted because it may be quickly remembered.

5.1.2 Origin of the collocation.

A quick look into some dictionaries provides the following definitions for the word *title*:

- 1) *'the name of a book, composition, or other artistic work'*
(Oxford Dictionary of English, 2005);
- 2) *'the name given to a particular book, painting, play, etc.'*
(Longman, 2009);
- 3) *'the title of a book, play, film, or piece of music is its name'*
(Collins Cobuild, 1987);
- 4) *'a word, phrase or sentence used to designate a book, chapter, poem, etc., thus distinguishing it from others and often indicating the nature of its contents'* (Webster, 2002),
- 5) *'the distinguishing name of a work of art, e.g. a book, film, or musical composition'* (New Penguin English Dictionary, 2000).

All of these recognise that the title has the naming or onomastic function. Some give indications concerning structure and length (Baicchi, 2003: 325).

Three are the aspects we consider worth mentioning in this section:

- a) among the titles of books, all of them are literary pieces of writing but for one:

10) **Another nuclear revolution. Rethinking the unthinkable**

A scary thought to consider: more reliable nuclear weapons.

(*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.49)

We have not considered it literary in view of its political implications: the original title of the book is *Rethinking the unthinkable: new directions for nuclear arms control*, by Ivo H. Daalder & Terry Terriff (1993), and it deals with the future direction of nuclear arms control in the post-Cold War security environment. Here the headline is probably due to the word play of opposite terms, the two of them containing the verb *think*, as well

as to the content of both the book and the news item, about nuclear weapons.

This is consistent, on the other hand, with Burger (1991: 26):

‘... läßt der [...] Buchtitel weder einen Zweifel daran, daß eine Anspielung vorliegt, noch daran, woher die Anspielung kommt [...], aber sicherlich nicht für alle nicht-literarischen Buchtitel, die mit Anspielungen arbeiten.’

(Translation: the title of a book leaves no doubt when it contains an allusion or from where the allusion comes, but that is not sure with all non-literary titles of books that work with allusions.)

This could perhaps explain why the titles of literary books are preferred to non-literary ones as news headlines, since the latter do not seem to allow word play / allusions so easily.

- b) Many titles of books show a correspondence mostly with films and a few TV series; this is not strange, as the film industry has always looked for inspiration in literature.
- c) Among the pieces of music, all of them are modern but for one by J. Brahms:

57) **Hungarian dances**

What a prime ministerial gaffe reveals about economic reform in Europe. (*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.36)

We believe the reason why this title was chosen as a headline lies in the very reference to that country in the ensuing news item, dealing with the facing of economic reforms, and subsequent riots. From there also the metaphor ‘RIOTS are DANCES’.

According to Cortés de los Ríos (2010), regarding cultural aspects, we

should highlight the use of song titles in headlines to report on economic news. These songs are well known and help to attract the readers' attention and make them reflect on a given situation.

Table 5, therefore, summarises the different frequencies according to the origin of the collocation in the headlines analysed in our corpus.

	From literary sources	From songs or musical albums	From films and TV series	Mixed types	
				From films + songs	From literary sources + films
Total = 118 headlines + 5 sub-headings	36 cases (29.3%)	18 cases (14.6%)	38 cases (30.9%)	6 cases (4.9%)	26 cases (21.1%)

Table 5

We have included a 'mixed type' section in the table for those collocations / headlines which come from films and songs or from books and films with the same title – see *Appendix 2* in this respect.

As we can see, in the sample as a whole, quotations alluded to were most likely to be from TV and film titles (30.9%), followed by allusions from literary sources (29.3%) and song titles (14.6%). These results show a correspondence with the mixed-type headlines alluding to literary sources and films, which were also quite common, perhaps, as mentioned, due to the fact that the film industry has always looked for inspiration in literature.

5.1.3 Length (number of words) of the headline.

Based on a statistical analysis of a readers' corpus, Ifantidou (2009: 701) distinguishes between 'short headlines' (fewer than 5-6 words) and 'long headlines' (more than 9-10 words). Taking this into account, *table 6* summarises the length of the headlines analysed in our corpus.

	2 words	3 words	4 words	5 words	6 w.	7 words	+7 w.
Total = 118 headlines + 5 sub- headings	27 headl. (22.8%)	28 headl. (23.7%)	31 headl. (26.3%)	18 headl. (15.2%) + 2 sub- headings	13 headl. (11%)	1 headl. (0.8%) + 2 sub- headings	1 sub- heading

Table 6

Some facts must be borne in mind, though:

- 1) headlines 8e), 8h) and 8i) were not taken into consideration as they do not comply with the requirements studied; the collocations appear in their sub-headings;
- 2) in instances 8b) and 47) both the headline and the sub-heading present collocations of the type under study;
- 2) sub-headings are only considered when they contain the type of collocations we are analyzing; in all, 5 instances were found.

The table clearly shows a tendency towards short headlines, mainly within a range from 2 to 4 words being preferred. The longest strings (7 words or more) are found in sub-headings, meant to clarify what is maybe enigmatic in the headline.

In most cases the headline is made up of only a nominal group with no verbal

part. This may mean that this is a favourite pattern for media journalists. The use of short headlines can also be explained by the ‘economical’ syntax that is typical of journalistic language and especially of the headlines. It catches the eye of the reader and commands attention, thus inviting the reader to read the whole article. In this respect, regarding the syntax of the headlines, *table 7* summarises the frequency of occurrence of the different patterns found.

	noun phrases	‘-ing’ clauses	adjective phrases	‘-ed’(past participle) clauses	prepositional phrases	independent sentences
Total = 118 headlines + 5 sub- headings	79 cases (64.2%)	7 cases (5.7%)	3 cases (2.4%)	1 case (0.8%)	21 cases (17.1%)	11 cases (8.9%)

Table 7

Watson (1999: 161-2) suggests that English headline syntax has developed its own distinct forms which in other contexts would often be considered ungrammatical. In order to maximize impact, English news headlines are condensed, and tend to lack all but the essential lexical items. In order to maximize condensation of headlines certain syntactic items may be omitted. The most commonly omitted items include the definite and indefinite articles, inflected forms of the verb ‘to be’, the subject and verb, and possessive pronouns. This concentrating of information often creates a ‘poetic’ string of words which would, in other contexts, be considered ungrammatical. Elidable elements may, nonetheless, be maintained in a headline for stylistic purposes.

5.2 On a second stage we looked carefully into the accompanying news to those 123 headlines in order to try to establish their possible **motivation**. Following Partington (2009: 1804), by *motivation* we mean that '*there is some natural or contextual connection*'. In this respect, we observed three related aspects:

- d) 'motivation' arising from the textual dependence between the collocations we are concerned with and the texts identified as their sources;
- e) 'motivation' between the headline – or sometimes the sub-heading – containing our collocations and the news item it introduces in each case;
- f) 'motivation' arising from stereotype contexts, that is, what we consider as the use of the same type of collocation topping news items with similar content contexts.

5.2.1 'Motivation' arising from the textual dependence between the collocations we are concerned with and the texts identified as their sources.

1. Most of these collocations seem to have come into being on the basis of well-known texts or passages of texts. This means that the *motivating links*, that is, the conceptual links between the lexical structure and the actual meaning of a collocation (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005: 359), were provided by knowledge about the text in question and its role in the cultural tradition. They are direct references to works of poetry, the Bible and titles of films, books or songs. For example, *The Hand that Rocks the Cradle (Is the Hand that Rules the World)* was in origin a poem by William Ross Wallace (1819-1881) published in 1865, which praises motherhood as the preeminent force for change in the world. The collocation shows, therefore, **several stages of textual dependence**: according to <http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com>, '*the hand that rocks the cradle (rules the world)*' is also a proverb that you say which means women are very powerful because they have most influence over the way in which children develop into adults. In <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki> we find that the source of

this expression lies in Wallace's well-known poem. In 1992 a film was shot (*The Hand that Rocks the Cradle*) in which Rebecca de Mornay starred. The success of that film, to no small extent, may have contributed to establishing this new collocation as well. In the end *The Economist* chose it as the headline for an economical news item (n. 18).

Robert Burns' (1759-1796) poem *To a Mouse* (1786) tells of how he, while ploughing a field, upturned a mouse's nest. The resulting poem is an apology to the mouse:

*'But, Mousie, thou art no thy lane [you aren't alone]
In proving foresight may be vain:
The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley, [often go awry]
An' lea'e us nought but grief an' pain,
For promised joy'.*

The poem is of course the source for the title of John Steinbeck's 1937 novel, *Of Mice and Men*. It is also a 1939 film based on the 1937 play based at the same time on Steinbeck's novel. The 1939 film was directed by Lewis Milestone starring Burgess Meredith; this was remade in 1992 by Gary Sinise, who also features in the film alongside John Malkovich. This collocation finally appears in headlines of both political and economical news in *The Economist*:

12) a) **Racial and religious hatred. Of imams and Nazis**

The Abu Hamza case shows that much has changed in Britain.
(*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.26)

b) **Iran and America. Of God and men**

Relying on the prophets. (*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.44)

c) **Development. Of property and poverty**

Land titling is a good thing, but it does not in itself create

capitalism. (*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.11)

Similarly, Robert Penn Warren took the title of his 1946 novel on political corruption, *All the King's Men*, from a resonant line in the nursery rhyme *Humpty Dumpty*, inspiring Woodward and Bernstein to name their 1974 account of Nixon's downfall *All the President's Men*. Finally, *The Economist* chose it again as the headline for a political article (n. 1) about the wives of two presidents and a former opposition MP in Uganda, who decided to run for elections in February 2006:

1) **Uganda. All the presidents' wives**

RUHAMA COUNTY. It helps to have a well-known husband in the forthcoming elections. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.46)

One of the most famous novels of the 20th century was Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Like the titles of most books it was carefully selected to dimly reveal the theme of the book. Just behind the title page, Hemingway gives us the source of his title as the famous lines from a passage in John Donne's *Meditation XVII of Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624):

*'No man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore **never send to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee**'.*

Finally, *The Economist* chose it again as the headline for an article on business:

35) **Computers. For whom the Dell tolls**

The world's biggest computer-maker is stumbling.

(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.64)

Connected with the above point is the fact that people have always thought these titles (*The Hand that Rocks the Cradle*, *Of Mice and Men*, *All the President's Men*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*) to be original ones, though they come in fact from quotations from previous texts. These previous texts and quotations have been made famous precisely due to later re-use instance in these titles. The ones just mentioned are good examples of what we are commenting. Though not in our corpus, other examples worth mentioning are the following:

- Thomas Merton's (1915 - 1968) *No Man is an Island* took its title from the same source as Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, that is, John Donne's *Meditation XVII* of *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624).

- *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) is the fourth novel written by the American author William Faulkner. The title of the novel is taken from Macbeth's famous soliloquy of Act 5, Scene 5 of William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*:

*'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of **sound and fury**,
Signifying nothing'.*

There is, therefore, a constant interplay between creativity and previous writing,

a relationship which, as we shall see, is particularly significant in the context of the news headlines we are going to analyse, as one can only add new forms to well-established contents.

2. The inverse process of textual dependence can be observed when a title/collocation comes from a proverbial saying or an idiom. For example, the following headlines in *The Economist*

- 6) **Face Value.** Still livin' on the edge
- 7) **Stockmarkets.** Too good to be true
- 9) **Kenya.** Caught in the act
- 16 a) **High jinks in Russia.** With friends like these
- 27) **Climate change.** Hot under the collar
- 85) **Japan's currency.** Carry on living dangerously

come mostly from songs and films, but these were originally idioms or sayings already established in the language (see <http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com>): 'to live on the edge', which could be considered as a synonym for 'to live dangerously', 'too good to be true', 'to catch someone in the act (of doing something)', 'with friends like these, who needs enemies?', '(to be) hot under the collar'.

5.2.2 'Motivation' between the headline – or sometimes the sub-heading – and the accompanying news it introduces in each case.

Related to what we have already mentioned on pages 41- 45, about the functions of press headlines, we soon realized that none of the headlines included in The Economist Corpus summarized or even informed about the ensuing news item. To use Baicchi's terms (2003, 2004), they were opaque. Rather **they highlighted**

a single detail extracted out of the story, or, as usually happens with tabloids, **they presented the reader with ‘a fairly complex riddle’.** This was done through the use of collocations that quoted the titles of films, books, poems, TV series and pieces of music which any cultivated reader must keep in his/her mind, so that they are easily recognised as such. To understand this, let’s take the following example:

20) **Political sleaze. Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell. (*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

Hardy’s *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* may easily be recognised in this headline, thus the textual dependence between the headline and its source is established. But the headline/collocation alone (‘Tess of the Virgin Isles’) within the context of a political news item lacks a great deal in meaning: one may wonder who *Tess* or Tess is or what role she plays in the whole story. To get to know this, one must read the accompanying news. The headline, therefore, is cataphoric, rather than anaphoric, since it occurs at initial mention, so to attain meaningfulness it needs to be connected with the ensuing text (Baicchi, 2003, 2004), which may give the headline its ambiguous or riddle-like quality. In the accompanying news ‘Tess’ refers to Tessa Jowell – here Tessa’s nickname ‘Tess’ being used to match the necessary collocation --, the British minister for culture, media and sport at the time, who, together with her husband, got involved in a scandal when it was found out that they had received a payment from a company in the Virgin Islands, which was presumably made by Mr. Berlusconi.

As we can see, two details have individually been highlighted in the headline: the minister’s name -- or better, nickname, ‘Tess’, which matches the collocation and, at the same time, may also lower the person’s status perhaps for getting involved in this kind of scandals – and the place from where she received the payment, the Virgin Islands. At the same time a ‘riddle’ is established by linking two plains of content (*Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, already in the reader’s mind, and the Virgin Islands) which apparently have got no relationship and whose connection gets

resolved once the reader has gone through the article. By foregrounding these details, therefore, the text producer directs his prospective reader towards the key elements of the text, so that the cataphoric effect of the title is intended to create expectations (Baicchi, 2003, 2004).

An important clue to link both concepts could be the polysemous character of the word 'trials' in the sub-heading: on the one hand, the word refers to the legal process Tessa Jowell must undergo; on the other, the word relates to all the difficulties and unpleasantness a particular situation causes a person, thus linking the personal circumstances of Tessa Jowell and those of the main character in Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, who, according to the story, did not lead an easy life. In this sense, we could say that here the motivation arises from the textual dependence with the text identified as its source not only with regard to the title / collocation, but also with the content of the novel.

In this type of headlines, therefore, the reader will draw on various sorts of knowledge to fill out the sentence and resolve the formal ambiguity created. This involves not just linguistic and literary but also world and cultural knowledge, including knowledge of current events. Cultural knowledge of everyday life is often essential to solve the ambiguity of a headline and arrive at a pragmatic interpretation (Lennon, 2004: 80).

Similar examples of this phenomenon (detail highlighting + riddle) can be found in the following:

87) Terrorism in India. Murder on the Friendship Express

DELHI. Despite the latest bombing, the peace process between India and Pakistan drags on. (*The Economist*, February 24th 2007, p.55)

Any well-educated reader will immediately recognise Agatha Christie's 1934 novel (*Murder on the Orient Express*) in the headline. However, he/she may wonder what role 'Friendship' plays in the whole string. It is only after going

through the article that the reader gets to know that it is all about a train called the Friendship Express (detail highlighting) running between Pakistan and India. Again, the cataphoric effect of the title is intended to create expectations (Baicchi, 2003, 2004).

What seems to be generally true, according to the data in our corpus, is that, as we have mentioned, the headline taken in isolation lacks a great deal in meaning. It is other elements around the headline itself that are meant to guide the reader's interpretation of the ensuing news item – we insist that for the details of the story the reading of the ensuing news item is found to be completely necessary. For example, in the already commented

20) **Political sleaze. Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell. (*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

the string 'political sleaze' just before the headline and the sub-heading ('The trials of Tessa Jowell') are the ones that really provide the hint about what the story is about. This strategy can lead to deepening degrees of complication, as the following examples show:

2) a) **Extradition in the Caribbean. Long arm of the law**

PORT OF SPAIN. No longer such a safe haven for suspected criminals. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.54)

b) **India. The long arms of the law**

DELHI. Resolving commercial disputes in India can take forever. (*The Economist*, July 1st 2006, p.58)

In 2a) the string 'Extradition in the Caribbean' just before the headline helps to set the topic theme of the news item, whereas in 2b) just in the same initial position we find the country (India) where the news takes place. In many cases

the exact place within the country is pointed out just before the sub-heading, also in an initial position (Port of Spain, Delhi). The presence of those elements, therefore, together with the sub-heading, shows that they help to compensate the fact that headlines in themselves lack a great deal in meaning within the context of the political or economical news they introduce.

According to Runge (2010: 224-225),

‘Placing non focal information in [the] clause-initial position has the effect of establishing an explicit frame of reference for the clause that follows. It does not result in emphasis. By definition, emphasis refers to taking what was already most important in a clause and placing it in [syntactic position two] at the beginning of the clause. Frames of reference are used to highlight the introduction of a new topic or centre of interest in the discourse. They are also used to attract attention to a discontinuity in the discourse in order to help the reader / hearer properly process it. Contrast is not created by the use of frames of reference, though it may increase it’.

5.2.3 ‘Motivation’ arising from ‘stereotype contexts’.

The previous (b) and present section (c) on ‘motivation’ may look similar in that each of the headline/collocation examples reviewed has undergone modification via lexical substitution, i.e. fixed sequences of words in which at least one lexical element has been replaced for the purposes of a specific text (Jaki, 2014:1). The difference for us lies, however, in the fact that only the headlines in section c) offer in our corpus a number of variations of the original collocation that examples analysed in section b) do not. Or, at least, they have been used far more times than those in section b).

For this reason we include here all those news contexts that share what seem to

us generally fixed characteristics which may explain why some headlines/collocations are more frequently used than others in the corpus. In general we have distinguished two types of contexts:

- 1) grammatical colligations, and
- 2) semantic contexts

5.2.3.1 Grammatical colligations

Lewis (2000) distinguishes 20 different types of collocations that are regularly found together. According to him, the single most important kind of collocation is the type which names a concept, usually *verb + noun* (*move house, submit a report*) or *verb + adjective + noun* (*take the wrong turning, revise the original plan*). In number 12 in Appendix 1, however, what the reader may immediately recall is the pattern ‘of +noun+and+noun’ present in Steinbeck’s *Of Mice and Men*.

This is, on the other hand, not surprising, though: according to <http://www.world-english.org/english500.htm> and based on the combined results of British English, American English and Australian English surveys of contemporary sources in English -- newspapers, magazines, books, TV, radio and real life conversations, the language as it is written and spoken today -- among the 500 most commonly used words in the English language, we find *of* in the second place and *and* in the fourth:

Rank	Word
1	the
2	of
3	to
4	and

The grammatical character of this colligation makes it especially useful when

linking two nouns, as in the following headlines:

12) a) **Racial and religious hatred. Of imams and Nazis**

The Abu Hamza case shows that much has changed in Britain.

(*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.26)

b) **Iran and America. Of God and men**

Relying on the prophets. (*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.44)

c) **Development. Of property and poverty**

Land titling is a good thing, but it does not in itself create capitalism. (*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.11)

The idea implied here may be the journalist's will 'to talk of' – the verb has been deleted in the collocation, only the preposition remains -- topics that in principle may look contradictory or express/show major contrast between referents, as was the case with *mice/men* in the canonical collocation:

- the ensuing news item in 12a) is about the right to free speech, which has always been qualified in Britain, and the dangers of hot talk of all kinds as damaging to community relations. In the case of Islamist extremists the writer focuses on the case against Abu Hamza, the former imam of the Finsbury Park mosque, who had gained notoriety due to his inflammatory and threatening talk. Similarly, in the BNP case the party leader and one of his lieutenants were also accused of stirring up racial hatred in inflammatory speeches against Muslims.

In the news item Islamist extremists are represented by imams, usually the ones responsible for this type of speeches and sermons. The BNP politicians, on the other hand, by talking against the Muslims, could be identified with Nazis, who used to do the same against the Jews. Both are extreme movements, but opposite: the former use religion as an excuse for hatred; the latter are a political party, similar to the Nazi party in Germany. However, they are at the same time related,

as both movements try to incite racism and social unrest.

- In 12b) the accompanying news is about the diplomatic effort, quite stuck at the time, to defuse the crisis over Iran's nuclear ambitions. Within this context, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran's president, chooses to address President George Bush in a letter as one believer to (he had heard) another and invites him to 'return to the teaching of the prophets' (--> *God*). Ahmadinejad's interest, nevertheless, might have more to do with bolstering his political power on earth (--> *men*).

- In 12c) the topic theme in the news item is that, although land titling (= *property*) has traditionally been a good thing to obtain credit and invest, however, according to different studies in Argentina and Peru, poor people with title are no more likely to obtain a loan from commercial banks (= *poverty*), who are quite slow to lend to the poor in many developing countries.

Another fruitful colligation in our corpus is the one represented by the preposition under+noun, which has produced different patterns of the type under study:

43) a) **World trade. Under attack**

America is being blamed for the impasse in global trade talks.
(*The Economist*, July 8th 2006, p.69)

b) **Drug patents. Under attack**

NEW YORK. Why are drug patents now coming under legal attack?
(*The Economist*, September 9th 2006, p.60)

52) **Japan's basic industries. Under pressure**

TOKYO. An outbreak of mergers and takeovers could be looming in Japan. (*The Economist*, September 9th 2006, p.61)

60) **Mexico. Under the volcano**

OAXACA. The governor v most of the people.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.64)

68) **Colombia's army. Under fire**

BOGOTÁ. Bombings, real and otherwise.

(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

From our point of view, all the nouns in the collocations seem to be related to negative or dangerous elements: *attack*, *pressure*, *volcano*, *fire*. The preposition *under* perfectly matches these combinations and the contexts of the different news items, as it denotes a low position which is usually regarded as negative -- Henderson's (1982) proposed 'root metaphors' include, among others, *up/down* metaphors where *up* is more or better and *down* is less or worse --. In this way the negative implications of both the noun and the preposition in each headline are reinforced.

5.2.3.2 Semantic contexts

For example, in headlines 3a), 3b), 3e) Frank Sinatra's song *I did it my way* is transformed so as to contain the proper name of the main character within the news item:

3 a) **Howard's way** --> Howard Stern (America's most popular
radio host)

3 b) **Cameron's way** --> David Cameron (Britain's Tory leader)

3 e) **Webb's way** --> James Webb (Democratic candidate for the
US Senate)

Here the substitution process is drastic, an extreme case of grammatical and

lexical substitution: of the five lexical items which make up the original quotation, as many as four have been replaced, the only one which remains unaltered is *way*, a key word that may help the journalist introduce the idea of how these people do things, in their ‘way’, which may not be the ordinary or traditional one.

Headlines 3c) and 3d) present the same linguistic process but differently:

3 c) **Doing it her way** --> Michelle Bachelet (Chile’s Prime Minister)

From the original collocation, one word is missing and two others change their values: the verb tense (*did* > *doing*) and the possessive pronoun (*my* > *her*) change. We could say that this headline is more faithful to the original than the previous ones, though the result is similar: as well as establishing the combination ‘detail highlighting + riddle’ the idea of ‘doing things in somebody’s way’ is reinforced.

3 d) **My way or the highway**

Here we find no human protagonists but German companies; the sub-heading is completely clear about the relationship of the headline with the accompanying news: ‘*German companies are getting more confident about doing things their way.*’ ‘The highway’ may be related to the fact that the article deals with Porsche and Volkswagen (among other German firms), two car makers, and the different measures they have put into practice in order to develop business.

Similarly, in the 2a) ‘**Long arm of the law**’ instance commented above the accompanying news talks about the attempts by the United States to extradite suspected criminals from their homes in the Caribbean to face charges in America. In 2b) ‘**The long arms of the law**’, the news is about the sometimes endless legal wrangling some foreign firms have found themselves embroiled in in India. The same collocation, therefore, seems to be used when the news item is

about the legal processes a company or a person is involved with or the courts behind those legal processes, the word ‘law’ being here the clue.

We must especially mention all the variations accounted for Dickens’s *A Tale of Two Cities* (n. 8 in *Appendix I*), the most repeated pattern in the whole corpus. Here the word ‘two’ seems to be the one that triggers the appearance of the collocation:

- 8 a), d) A tale of two prime ministers
- b) ... two ministers (sub-heading)
- c) ... two Frances
- e) ... two presidents (sub-heading)
- f) ... two retailers
- g) ... two Slavic states

In 8i) the word ‘two’ does not appear as such in the sub-heading, but a combination of two nouns, ‘balloons and small business’. In other words, one gets the feeling that any time a news item must talk about two people, two companies or any combination of two parts, it must be introduced with a variation of the title of Dickens’s novel.

In n. 14, however, the use of the collocation seems to be due to the semantics of the adjective ‘impossible’ in the original collocation, applied here to situations very difficult to solve: according to the sub-headings and news items, in 14a) poverty in Venezuela, in 14b) NATO’s victory in Afghanistan, in 14c) the UN’s failing peace keeping efforts round the world:

14) a. **Venezuela. Mission impossible**

CARACAS. Poverty is at last falling under Hugo Chávez, but not nearly as much as it should have given his country’s vast oil windfall. (*The Economist*, February 18th 2006, p.46)

b. **Afghanistan. Mission plausible**

RIGA. NATO's leaders promise victory. But many are still holding back. (*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.58)

c. **The United Nations. Mission impossible?**

As Ban Ki-moon takes charge at the UN, we look at the prospects for this troubled body and for its peace keeping efforts round the world.

(*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.18)

Headline 14c) is, on the other hand, the only instance we have encountered in our corpus in which expansion of an original collocation has been done by means of a punctuation mark ('?'), thus resembling a rhetorical question rather than a generic question. According to Sadock (1971), rhetorical questions are examples of utterances whose form does not match their function. They have the structure of a question but the force of an assertion and so are generally defined as questions that neither seek information nor elicit an answer. More modern analyses (Rohde, 2006: 164) see rhetorical questions as redundant interrogatives which invoke answer sets like regular questions, but they carry strong bias like statements. From our point of view, the use of question marks to expand a collocation is just another device the journalist has 'at hand' to raise the reader's curiosity by introducing a certain degree of doubt.

In n. 16, by contrast,

16) a) **High jinks in Russia. With friends like these**

MOSCOW. What an alleged British spy ring and mysterious pipeline explosions on the Russian-Georgian border have in common. (*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.31)

b) **Peru's election. With friends like these**

LIMA. Hugo Chávez's meddling backfires.

(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.52)

c) **Muslims and socialists. With friends like these**

An odd marriage of Muslims and secular socialists, united against America, is challenged by pundits of right and left.

(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.61)

As mentioned, the collocation comes originally from a well-known saying or proverb. The idea is mainly conveyed through the deleted part ('*who needs enemies?*'), pointing out the odd or bad relationship established between countries (a, b) or groups of people (c) that were once friends: in a) the news is about the political tensions among Russia, Georgia and Britain; in b), the odd relationship between Bolivia, Venezuela and Peru due to Mr Chávez's meddling in Peruvian election; in c), about the leftist-Muslim partnership in the demonstrations held in London to demand the withdrawal of Western troops from Iraq.

We believe a proverb must have been used in the context of these news items to try to draw a moral or confirm a point. Proverbs have been a major field of interest in phraseology, particularly for their expression of culture and folklore. Their social function becomes clear from the following definition by Mieder (1993: 24):

'A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.'

Burger (2010: 106), on the other hand, suggests that, in contrast to other

categories of phraseological units, *proverbs* constitute proper micro-texts and hence do not have to be textually adapted to a specific context. It is perhaps for this reason that our collocation has not gone through modification of any of its constituents.

About the collocation in n. 24,

24) a) **North Sea oil and gas. The long goodbye**

ABERDEEN. High oil prices have helped slow the North Sea's decline. Government flip-flopping could accelerate it again.
(*The Economist*, March 18th 2006, p.35)

b) **Republican woes. The long goodbye**

AUSTIN AND WASHINGTON, DC. The downfall of their most powerful congressman gives Republicans a chance to get rid of what he represented. (*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.46)

Here 'goodbye' can be identified with 'decay', a key word that establishes the metaphor: in 24 a) the news item is about Britain's decrease (*decline*) in the oil production in the North Sea; in 24 b), about the American Republican Delay's *downfall* and resignation from Congress.

For the sake of parsimony, in this section we will only add that we believe every time a collocation is repeated topping different news items it is because their contexts share certain common characteristics that allow the use of the same collocation in their headlines – we have underlined those similarities in each of the cases analysed above. Our corpus is full of examples of this type.

Burger (1991: 18) suggests that

'Der Buchtitel [...] wird zu einer Schlabone, einem phraseologischen Modell, und nach diesem werden immer neue Verbindungen gebildet, die

ihrerseits das Modell stabilisieren’.

(Translation: the title of a book⁷ [...] becomes a model, a formulaic pattern, and after it new variants are always formed that at the same time settle that pattern.)

The corpus evidence presented in this research looks consistent, from our point of view, with the literature in this respect: the collocations under research in the headlines of business and political news seem to work like generic text schemata that, once evoked or expanded upon, may interact with stored frames to produce elaborate configurations of interlinked images (Koops 2000: 1–3) that may lead the reader to create expectancies about the implied meaning.

Borau (2009: 65) explains it quite differently:

‘La calidad indiscutible de ciertas producciones, así como su carga evocadora, lleva a que informadores y comentaristas cuenten con una lista de títulos favoritos a la que recurren para reforzar o puntualizar sus informaciones siempre a costa de transfigurarlos’.

(Translation: the undeniable quality of certain film productions as well as their evoking force leads news editors and commentators to rely on a list of favourite titles they resort to in order to reinforce or specify their information even if that always implies transforming them.)

⁷ In our case, also the title of a film, of a TV series, of a song or album.

5.3 Rhetorical devices.

5.3.1 Metaphor and metonymy

According to Moon (1998: 122), many idioms are semi-fixed, or partially variable, in their form. Variability may mean the possibility of substituting one word or several words at one or more points. Knowing how many words, and which words, to substitute is important for the learner, because failure to make the right choices may result in combinations that no native speaker would produce. Even though fixedness is a key property of idioms, many of them have lexical variations or strongly institutionalized transformations. Variations are not ad hoc manipulations like modified idioms; they are institutionalized, although some may be restricted to particular varieties of English or formality levels. The most important characteristic concerning the expressive use of idioms is creative manipulation of their form.

Cowie (2001: 12) states that deliberate variation of an idiom to achieve a particular stylistic effect is a common device in speech and writing and is to be distinguished from variation within a multi-word unit, which is familiar and systemic (and recorded as such in phraseological dictionaries).

Jaki (2014: 17), for her part, suggests that the fact that it is possible to modify phraseological units despite their fixed nature seems to be a paradox at first sight. At a second glance, however, it becomes evident that fixedness is the precondition for modifiability and that the effects of modifications can only be achieved thanks to the stability of the original forms.

She defines *modification* as

‘the intentional manipulation of the form and/or meaning of a phraseological unit for the purposes of a specific text’ (2014: 17).

Whereas, in her view, *variation*

‘should be reserved for non-intentional manipulations’ (2014: 17).

The product of a modification will also be called modification, and the source of the modification will be referred to as either the original or the canonical form (see also Herrera and White, 2010). Lennon (2004), by contrast, uses the term *allusion*, because modifications allude to a familiar unit in the speaker’s mental lexicon.

For the purposes of the present analysis, however, no distinction will be made between these different terms (*modification*, *variation*, *allusion*), as the process and result are similar every time lexical substitution has taken place.

The literature matches, therefore, the data in our corpus: many original titles/collocations have been used without any changes (in their canonical form) as the headlines of press news. However, there is also a marked tendency towards creative use in that the collocations also appear adapted, modified, transformed or in some way altered to better match or express contextual meaning or subject-matter content. In this way they may be said to allude to a familiar unit in the speaker’s mental lexicon.

In any of these cases, the presence of our collocations seems to interact creatively with other rhetorical devices that already exist within the collocations themselves. In this respect, we must emphasize the role these rhetorical devices also play in the building up of the riddle each headline contains. Let’s see an example:

18) **Women’s pay. The hand that rocks the cradle**

Why women are still earning less than men.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.33)

If we ignore the surrounding elements that help the reader get a hint about what the news item is about – the string ‘Women’s pay’ and the sub-heading –, the only thing the headline in principle suggests is the textual dependence with its

source, that is, the title of a film in which a vengeful nanny tries to destroy a naïve woman and steal her family. ‘The hand that rocks the cradle’ would be a metonymy for ‘nanny’ (PART FOR WHOLE); and, within the context of the news item, also for ‘woman’, as all women – this plural form already in the sub-heading -- are in principle able to bear, give birth and look after babies.

In the same way, in the above commented

- 2 a) **Extradition in the Caribbean. Long arm of the law**
- b) **India. The long arms of the law**

‘arm’ stands for the whole body (= ‘law’, court), being, therefore, another clear case of metonymy (PART FOR WHOLE) and here also of what Goossens (1995: 172) terms *metonymy within metaphor* (LAW AS BODY), where

‘a metonymically used entity is embedded within a (complex) metaphorical expression’..

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a widely known approach within Cognitive Linguistics, first through the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and subsequently through the work of scholars who have developed the ideas and concepts further (see e.g. Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 1996; Johnson, 1987; Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 1999, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez de Velasco, 2003). The theory holds that metaphor is not exclusively a linguistic phenomenon, as Aristotelian approaches to metaphor would claim, but is first and foremost cognitive. From this follows that our realisation about abstract concepts is conditioned by our previous experience and interaction with the surrounding world, in terms of space, objects and substances, rendering tightly structured transfers of meaning (mappings) from a physical domain of experience onto a less tangible, less well-known domain.

The notion of a domain is central to the understanding of metaphor and metonymy. In particular, it is critical to identify when one is dealing with a single

domain or different domains. Despite its centrality, the notion of domain has not been delineated in detail (Croft, 2002: 164). The most carefully worked-out description of domains is found in Langacker (1987), some of which is based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980). To understand the notion of a domain, Langacker offers the example of an arc of a circle (1987: 183–184). The domain of a circle includes the concepts of an arc, a diameter, a radius, chord, etc. A circle itself is in the domain of two-dimensional space (actually, shape: triangle, square, circle, ...). This demonstrates that a particular semantic structure can be a concept in a domain, or a domain itself.

As Taylor (1989: 84) notes,

‘In principle, any conceptualization or knowledge configuration, no matter how simple or complex, can serve as the cognitive domain for the characterization of meanings.’

Within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it is considered that **metonymy** only involves one conceptual domain, that is to say, the mapping occurs within a single domain and not across domains (metaphor). In metonymy there is a ‘stand for’ relationship since one entity in a schema is taken to stand for another entity in the same domain or for the domain as a whole, as happens in the two examples above. Metonymies are usually represented by the schema X FOR Y, where X represents the source domain and Y symbolizes the target meaning of the metonymic operations.

To quote Lakoff (1987: 77) here:

‘It is extremely common for people to take one well-understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it.’

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38-39) had earlier singled out the following typical instances for metonymic use as follows: PART FOR WHOLE, PRODUCER FOR

PRODUCT, OBJECT USED FOR USER, CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED, INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT, ...

Although these are just a tiny fraction of metonymy types, they, nevertheless, will suffice to indicate that metonymy essentially takes place within a single domain. That is, by certain principles one element within a domain which stands in close relation to another or to the domain as a whole can be used to stand for that other. Hence, metonymy essentially has a referential function.

According to Goossens (1995: 162), there appear to be a considerable number of figurative expressions for linguistic (inter)action which contain lexical items denoting parts of the body, more specifically of the human body, as we have seen in collocations 18), 2a) and 2b). This is not to be confused, however, with what linguists usually term as **embodiment**.

During the last two decades, the notion of embodiment is of growing importance in Cognitive Linguistics. Perhaps the most comprehensive definition and explanation of *embodiment* and *embodied mind* in Cognitive Linguistics is found in Lakoff and Johnson's *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999). Lakoff and Johnson claim that a major finding of Cognitive Science is the fact that the mind is inherently embodied. They explain this embodied mind as follows (1999: 4):

'Reason is not disembodied, as the tradition has largely held, but arises from the nature of our brains, bodies, and bodily experience. This is not just the innocuous and obvious claim that we need a body to reason; rather, it is the striking claim that the very structure of reason itself comes from the details of our embodiment. The same neural and cognitive mechanisms that allow us to perceive and move around also create our conceptual systems and modes of reason. Thus, to understand reason we must understand the details of our visual system, our motor system, and the general mechanisms of neural binding. In summary, reason is not, in any way, a transcendent feature of the universe or of disembodied mind.'

Instead, it is shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world.'

In this sketch of the embodied mind are hidden at least two different definitions of embodiment. The first sense is the one that has become the common sense definition in Cognitive Linguistics: that the functioning of our bodies is crucial for the structure of our conceptual system. Our conceptual system is, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) and many other cognitive linguists claim, mirrored in language patterns, for example systematic use of metaphor. Thus, every experience we make could be called 'embodied'.

But there is also another aspect of embodiment in the passage from Lakoff and Johnson above: cognition is embodied in the sense that it is inseparably linked to brain processes. In this sense also every aspect of cognition must be 'embodied'.

Another source of confusion in using the term *embodiment* is a lack of differentiation from Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention experiential gestalts which are based on the nature of our bodies, our interactions with our physical environment and our interactions with other people within our culture. These experiential gestalts serve as the grounding of conceptual metaphors (1980: 117). This theoretical claim has been fleshed out by Johnson (1987) who developed the idea of these experiential gestalts as *image schemata* or *embodied schemata* – these terms are used interchangeably (Johnson 1987: 23). An image schema is

'a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities. These patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions' (Johnson 1987: 29).

Johnson claims that image/embodied schemata structure our perceptions, images

and events. Johnson sees evidence for this mainly in language – especially metaphoric patterns in language. Thus, the notion of embodiment, as it was developed in Johnson's 1987 work and in other studies, and the ideas of Conceptual Metaphor Theory are closely connected.

To avoid a loss of meaning of *embodiment* by making it totally polysemous some linguists (Goschler, 2005: 35) argue for a use of the term in Cognitive Linguistics in only the first sense: *embodiment* means that parts of our conceptual system and therefore some aspects of our language are structured by the features of our bodies and the functioning of our bodies in everyday life.

If metonymy operates within a single domain, **metaphor**, by contrast, necessarily involves a between domain relationship (mapping) and these domains are typically referred to in the literature (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) as *source* or *donor* and *target* or *recipient* domains, which are the domains of the 'literal' and 'figurative' concepts symbolized by the word.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) define *metaphor* as follows:

'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'.

That is, the formula of the statement triggers an interpretation in terms of a straightforward metaphorical mapping (X is a Y), involving the projection of logical structure from the source domain onto the target domain.

Barnden (2010: 3) argues that metaphoricity and metonymicity are language-user-relative in a deep way. They are affected by such things as the particular lexicon, encyclopaedic knowledge, and interconceptual relationships held by a particular language user (whether utterer or understander). Thus, in principle, an expression should not be said to be metaphorical or metonymic in any absolute sense, but only for a particular user. Of course, in practice, many expressions

may be metaphorical or metonymic for the vast majority of native users of a language, and the way in which expressions are metaphorical or metonymic may also be the same or similar across such users (e.g., involve the same conceptual metaphor such as LOVE AS JOURNEY, or the same metonymical schema such as CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS or PART FOR WHOLE). Relativity has been pointed out by various authors (among others, Dirven, 2002; Geeraerts, 2002; Norrick, 1981; Radden, 2002; Ritchie, 2006; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 1999). User-relativity does not necessarily imply that the metaphor and metonymy cannot in general be cleanly differentiated or that, for a given user, particular cases of metaphor and metonymy cannot be cleanly differentiated; and, conversely, a lack of a clean differentiation between the notions of metaphor and metonymy does not necessarily imply user-relativity.

To the extent that metaphor and metonymy are matters of processing, therefore, there have been various notions, in the literature, of a cline or spectrum of phenomena incorporating metaphor and metonymy. Radden (2002) makes one such proposal. Dirven (2002) discusses a phenomenon of post-metonymy, intermediate between metaphor and metonymy, although Riemer (2002) argues that (his own version of) post-metonymy need not lead in the direction of metaphor. Croft and Cruse (2004: 220) give examples that suggest intermediate possibilities between metaphor and metonymy, while also warning that what may appear to be intermediacy may be the result of combining distinctly different processes.

Metaphor and metonymy have also traditionally been treated in a different way: if the classical view, in existence for over two millennia, clearly demarcated these tropes as distinctly separate and considered metaphor as the hallmark of creative literature, the common denominator of more recent research underlines how they interact and even overlap (Goossens, 1995; Taylor, 1989/1995; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 1999a, 1999b; Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco, 2003; Geeraerts, 2002; and Hampe, 2005). That is, there seem to be a close and often

hardly separable interrelation between metaphor and metonymy, which has led to the coinage of the term *metaphtonymy* (Goossens, 1995). Barcelona (2000a: 4) in this sense says:

‘Metonymy has received much less attention from cognitive linguists than metaphor, although it is probably even more basic to language and cognition.’

And Lakoff (1987: 77),

‘Metonymy is one of the basic characteristics of cognition.’

Goossens (1995: 173-174), when talking about metaphtonymy, suggests that there are two current patterns for the interplay of metaphor and metonymy. One in which the experiential basis for the metaphor is a metonymy, yielding what he calls metaphor from metonymy. The other pattern is the case in which a metonymy functioning in the target domain is embedded into a metaphor: metonymy within metaphor, as in

- 2 a) **Extradition in the Caribbean. Long arm of the law**
- b) **India. The long arms of the law**

Metonymy within metaphor seems to occur frequently, but not metaphor within metonymy. In both cases we get a complex mapping, where for metonymy within metaphor a metonymic mapping is inserted into a metaphoric one and for a metaphor within metonymy a metaphor becomes an ingredient in a metonymic expression. Metonymy within metaphor is possible only if in the source or donor domain the element which becomes metonymic in the recipient scene can either be processed literally or be reinterpreted metaphorically. In other words, the metonymy is integrated into the metaphor, but the metaphor maintains itself, it is not ‘destroyed’ by the integrated metonymy.

In the case of a metaphor within metonymy, on the other hand, the addition of an

element from a discrete domain – Goossens (1995: 174) offers the example *be/get up on one's hind legs*, where 'hind' would be that element -- tends to metaphorise the whole expression; it is only by virtue of the strong cognitive salience of the metonymic alternative (*be/get up on one's legs*) that the complex interpretation as metaphor within metonymy becomes relevant.

Therefore, a metaphor inserted into a metonymy would seem to metaphorise the whole, whereas a metonymy integrated into a metaphor does not appear to have the power to metonymise the metaphor.

This deepened perspective on the nature and role of metaphor and metonymy has had important repercussions not only in language-oriented fields such as literary analysis and linguistics, but has also influenced other disciplines, including psychology, politics, law and economics.

Economics is most probably the discipline in which most research into metaphor has been carried out within the domain of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Since the irruption of cognitive linguistics in the 1970s different studies have been carried out to show the application of this theory to the field of ESP. Metaphor offers economics language transparency and specificity and particularly the language of finance is, from the linguistic point of view, one of the most dynamic and interesting fields of business English due to its innovative and popular register (Adams and Cruz, 2007).

It is widely accepted, therefore, that metaphor and metonymy are essential tools of conceptualisation of economic problems/issues that are often artfully manipulated to attract the audience's attention, to persuade them and to perform diverse communicative functions, such as reinforcing the most significant aspects of a financial situation. As Cubo de Severino, Israel and Zonana (1988) affirm, metaphors have two very important functions: (1) to manipulate readers' minds through the inference patterns and value judgements generated by metaphors; (2)

to give a more concrete representation of the situation at hand, making it clearer.

Metaphors persuade because metaphoric thinking structures and influences the way that an audience reads and reacts to an event. And it is known that people make decisions based on emotion and logic, and metaphors can be powerful in attaching emotional significance to the seemingly ordinary. For example, topping a political or economic news item with a headline that reminds us of a familiar topic (for instance, the title of a film or song) is far more evocative and inspiring than referring to it in literal terms. Journalists often use these resources to achieve their goals of moving their audiences and changing their attitudes (Cortés de los Ríos, 2010).

With these ideas in mind, we may distinguish two basic types of metaphors in our corpus:

1. what we might call *'non-specific register metaphors'*, that is, metaphors one could find in any register. For example, in

33) **African poverty. The magnificent seven**

SAURI, KENYA. How a few simple reforms can lift African villages out of poverty. (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.47)

The headline, as its exophoric reference / textual dependence suggests, reminds us of seven gunfighters who help an oppressed Mexican peasant village defend their homes. According to the news, however, 'the magnificent seven' are seven simple reforms within the UN's Millennium Project that can substantially improve lives and provide livelihoods in Africa, just as the sub-heading already anticipates. Thus, 'gunfighters' and 'reforms' are identified for their good results.

Similarly in

84) **Lloyd's of London. The Rip van Winkle of risk**

The world's quirkiest insurance market wakes up to the modern world.
(*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.59)

Lloyd's is identified with Rip van Winkle: a) Van Winkle enjoys solitary activities in the wilderness; similarly, Lloyd's, the world's best-known insurance company, with its remarkable flair for covering unusual risks, has been the only one of its kind for a long time, though competitors were already looming in Bermuda, Dublin and Dubai at the time the article was published.

b) One winter day Van Winkle is wandering up the mountains, when he discovers a group of silent, bearded men who offer him some of their moonshine, he begins to drink and soon he falls asleep. He awakes twenty years later, after the American Revolution, to discover shocking changes. According to the ensuing news item, after years of false starts, including some costly technology flops, Lloyd's situation, which is rather antiquated in modern times, has forced a necessary reform plan to be put into practice, and modernisation seems at last to have gained momentum, thus 'wakes up to the modern world' in the sub-heading. In other words, in the same way as Rip van Winkle has to adapt to a new age he has not lived, Lloyd's is grappling with the big task of dragging itself into the 21st century by increasing efficiency and cutting costs without losing its entrepreneurial edge.

c) Washington Irving's character and Lloyd's share another common characteristic, their oddness and strangeness – 'quirk' in the sub-heading -- : after his long sleep Van Winkle returns to his village where he recognizes no one. He gets into trouble when he proclaims himself a loyal subject of King George III, not aware that the American Revolution has taken place and George Washington is then the president. There is no doubt that Van Winkle might have appeared really strange to everyone else's eyes in the village.

Lloyd's bespoke contracts are, on the other hand, renowned: Lloyd's syndicates insure everything from cricket's Ashes trophy to oil rigs, celebrities' body parts

and exotic fruit. Shipwrecks, hurricanes, terrorism, kidnappings: Lloyd's takes them all in its stride. This may be the reason why Lloyd's also has great influence on the pricing of global marine, aviation and catastrophe risks.

2. 'Register specific metaphors', that is, those usually found in a specific register, for example that of business, can be found in

25) **Pharmaceuticals. Unwelcome suitors**

DARMSTADT AND NEW YORK. Attempts to form a new drugs giant in Germany. (*The Economist*, March 18th 2006, p.61)

In the case of corporate alliances, the most prototypical sub-metaphor of COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE is that of marriage (White and Herrera, 2003), and this often appears with quite sophisticated elaboration and extension in the reporting of corporate alliances and takeovers. The news in the present instance is about Merck's hostile bid to try to take over Schering; here the pattern BUSINESS IS MARRIAGE (two companies become one) lies in the background, and the negotiations previous to the merger are treated like a romance in which uneligible (=unwelcome) suitors (=strong companies) are rejected.

According to White and Herrera (2003), within the MERGERS ARE MARRIAGES metaphor, which typically highlights the aspect of harmonious union, the question of the sexual roles assigned to the two partners, while often present subconsciously, can become very significant, either subconsciously or, if foregrounded, consciously. This is a complex issue. Firstly, companies are prototypically referred to in feminine terms – this is very clear in gender marked languages, e.g. Spanish: *la compañía, la empresa, la firma*; German: *die Firma*. It is also noticeable in non-gender marked ones, e.g., *mother, daughter* or *sister company*. Secondly, company leaders, traditionally men, tend to stand metonymically for the company as a whole. Thus, this supposedly masculine feature of the leaders very easily carries over to characterise company policy. Hence, aspects such as these come to be profiled in the MERGERS ARE

MARRIAGES metaphor: the social institution of marriage and the roles traditionally assigned to each sex metaphorically underpin the discourse of corporate mergers. Koller (2001) already noted that in takeovers the dominant company is characteristically cast as male while the company being absorbed is female.

Furthermore, Koller (2001) points out that the sexual role implicit in takeover scenarios is one of rape. This claim, however, needs some explanation. Although this may be the case in what are known as hostile takeovers, in many other cases, the takeover scenario can be considerably different. Thus, in the case we are dealing with (n. 25), there are three powerful rivals (Merck, and possibly Novartis and GlaxoSmithKline) who are in dispute for the same company (Schering). While the first are assigned a male role and the other a female one, the latter corporate figure clearly occupies a decision-making role being portrayed as the one who chooses which 'suitor's hand' she will opt for.

Another example is:

29) **General Motors, Delphi and the unions. Last tango in Detroit?**

DETROIT AND NEW YORK. As fears grow that GM will go bust,
management and unions are locked in a mournful embrace.

(*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.61)

The underlying pattern BUSINESS IS A DANCE is here performed through a 'tango', a difficult type of dance full of contortions, by the three groups involved in the negotiations, which seem to lead nowhere, thus 'last' and 'mournful embrace' in the sub-heading. The intricacies of the dance may be said to correspond to different aspects of the complexity of the business scenario: on the one hand, General Motors' boss has to face the problems (= perform the contortions) derived from his struggle to save the ailing giant of the car industry, given its shrinking market share. A much greater problem is, however, that of

having to ‘dance’ simultaneously with Delphi, its bankrupt parts supplier, and with one of America’s toughest trade unions, the United Auto Workers (UAW), whose employees earn three times as much as some other unionised workers in similar jobs in Detroit. The ‘tango’ would be successfully performed if GM could sort out Delphi and if Delphi – and GM -- could cut down on costs by lowering workers’ wages; this, however, would have nasty consequences for GM: if Delphi’s workers go on strike, GM would suffer a costly production slowdown which could easily result in bankruptcy despite it being in none of their best interests.

Within the scope of metaphor, what seems to be a common use in press headlines is what White and Herrera (2009) call *interface* – also labelled *double grounding* (Brône and Feyaerts’s, 2005; Brône and Coulson, 2010), or *topic-triggered metaphor* (Semino, 2008). This is a process by which words belonging to the semantic field of the subject matter dealt with in the accompanying news are used within the headline in order to produce a metaphorical expression. Or, more technically, it involves the simultaneous activation of structure from both the source and the target of a metaphor. In this type of cases, therefore, metaphor motivation is not deriving from a different source domain but is internal to the topic or subject matter dealt with in the ensuing news item.

Additionally, as Brône and Feyaerts’s (2005) and Brône and Coulson (2010) point out, *double grounding* may appear in combination with an implied metonymic projection. **This co-activation of structures from different domains – yet in the same lexical field -- yields a subtle effect of wit, due to the local ambiguity created.** They argue that headlines lend themselves extremely well to strategies like *double grounding*, since they are expected

- a) to summarise in a very compact manner the text they accompany, and
- b) to do this in a sharp and often playful way.

Thus, integration processes can serve a double function, in that by compressing multifaceted information to fit the strict requirements of space, **an effect of ‘wit’ can be created which enlightens the otherwise terse style of economic discourse.** This play on words provides a greater insight into the workings of that system, highlights the polysemy and ambiguity available in language and taps its potential. Moreover, the type of play here involved, where the artifice and the expected form are easily recoverable, complies with Giora *et al*’s (2004) notion of pleasurability optimisation. Brône and Coulson (2010: 225ff) have further substantiated the role of playfulness, providing experimental evidence supporting the wittiness claim for double-grounding headlines. This is translated into qualitative benefit increase by way of communication potential. Functionality and expressivity, therefore, do not necessarily operate as competing forces.

In our corpus the collocation in the headline may also suffer a simultaneous adaptation or variation to better match the context of the news item. Let’s see some interface examples:

45) **America’s corporate pensions. On the runway**

NEW YORK. At last, pension reform is in the works.

(*The Economist*, July 22nd 2006, p.74)

Kerouac’s 1951 novel *On the Road* has been here modified to comply with the subject matter of the news item: employees at Northwest Airlines urge Congress in the USA to hurry up and pass a bill on company pension schemes, without which Northwest might have to cancel its retirement plans. And the same happens with other companies within the aviation industry. At the time the article was written a compromise between the two houses was said to be imminent, that is, it was ‘on the runway’ to take off.

As we can see, among the features entailed by the domain of air-travel, certain ones would be judged far more salient (Giora, 2003) than others: for example,

‘runway’ or ‘taking off’ clearly belong to this domain, in contrast with others like ‘parking’ or ‘road’, which do not. Salient features prototypically serve as metonymic sources and this is just what happens in headline n. 45, where ‘runway’ stands for or activates the whole domain of air-travel. This essential cognitive step evidenced by this headline, namely, the metonymic focus of what we may call stage one, where a salient feature (‘runway’) gives access to the whole domain. This then provides the springboard for a second cognitive step in which this domain acts as the source for a corresponding metaphor in stage two. Thus, what is a metonymy within the air-travel domain licences a metaphor under the meaning shift that takes place since the target subject is no longer air-travel as such but a political and business concern (pension reform, retirement plans). In this way, the metonymic process of stage one makes possible a second stage in which it is used metaphorically.

At the same time, there is a certain humorous effect engendered in that a core word from the literal or lexical field of airline travel (‘runway’) is deployed not in its literal field but figuratively. We would claim that this effect has added communicative value in capturing the reader’s attention and engaging him/her in savouring the wit.

68) **Colombia’s army. Under fire**

BOGOTÁ. Bombings, real and otherwise.

(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

The collocation established by this 1983 film, with Nick Nolte and Ed Harris, matches without any variations the events portrayed in the accompanying news: a FARC bomb explodes in the centre of Bogotá injuring 23 people and putting paid to the chances of talks with the government. This takes place at the same moment that Colombia’s army, one of the most respected institutions in the country, is suspected of responding to Mr Uribe’s intense pressure for results by faking ‘successes’.

Here in the first place ‘fire’ metonymically activates the whole domain of bombings and war, and secondly it is used metaphorically to talk about a political concern, Uribe’s pressure for results and the army faking successes.

86) **Weather risk. Come rain or come shine**

Hedge funds find a new way to profit by taking on the weather gods.
(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.78)

The last example of *interface* we will here discuss takes us to a 1946 song by H. Arlen and J. Mercer that suits the semantic field of climate and weather. The news is about how hedge funds favour three sorts of instruments linked to the changeable climate (weather derivatives, catastrophe bonds and sidecars); all are welcome innovations in risk management as insurance and banking increasingly overlap.

In stage one ‘rain’ and ‘shine’ are the salient features that give access to the whole domain of weather. Then in stage two, what is a metonymy within the weather domain triggers a metaphor under the meaning shift that takes place since the target subject is no longer the weather, but a business concern (hedge funds, innovations in risk management, insurance and banking). In this way, the metonymic process of stage one makes possible a second stage in which it is used metaphorically.

5.3.2 Other devices

As shown, generally speaking, the headlines in our corpus will not give clear or direct information about the contents of the articles they head. That is, they never have a summary character. When it occurs, it will not be the main headline but a

sub-heading that has this more direct content reflecting function.

At the most headlines are only partially and indirectly representative, and many are puzzling or seem even riddle-like as regards their relation to the contents of the news item they introduce. In many cases our headlines can in themselves bring to mind two or more experiential domains, or meanings, that need not be obviously associated. This may be the result of them being short, vague, and, as we will see, wittedly formulated. Sometimes this semantic multi-potential suggests that they behave like puns, or at least potentially pun-like, which may arouse a reader's curiosity (Partington, 2009).

The majority of *The Economist* headlines that have been looked at for this study appear artful or playful or even poetic. They are typically snappily intriguing, and many of them seem also to have been constructed to be aesthetically pleasing, as they are rhythmically worded, or contain rhythmic repetitions that should be comparatively easy to remember. An example of this may be found in headline

34) a) **Earnings guidance. The sound of silence**

NEW YORK. More companies are keeping mum about future profits. (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.75)

where the lexical substitution producing an **antonymous relation or oxymoron** ('music' in the original collocation has been modified to introduce 'silence') is reinforced by the alliterative pattern /s/ in both nouns. This sound is similar, at the same time, to what people say to ask for silence ('shush' or 'sh' -- *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*, 1987: 1346), thus strengthening the idea of 'keeping mum' in the sub-heading. This substitution is, therefore, based on purely contextual relations with regard to the accompanying news.

According to Alm-Arvius (2010: 21-22),

‘There are two general categories of figurative language: schemes and tropes. The former, schemes, are to do with the rhythmic repetition of forms, either phonological elements or sequences of syntactic or syntagmatic structures, while various types of figurative meanings are termed tropes [...]. The general defining or shared characteristic of tropes is that they are semantically bi-dimensional; they somehow connect and typically also contrast two meanings...’

‘Figurative devices, schemes and tropes, will make language production poetic, as they make use of formal and semantic resources within the language system itself, ...’

‘Poetic usage exploits the phonological, grammatical and lexical inventories of a language system, orally or in writing, in a playful, artful or cognitively constructive way. While other types of meaning more straightforwardly communicate about language external matters – i.e. factual circumstances, beliefs and speculations, and social relations or emotive reactions out in the world – the poetic function draws on the internal inventory of a language in a meaningful way. While schemes rhythmically repeat phonological or grammatical forms, tropes foreground selected semantic associations in a way that can be striking, creative and at least mildly thought-provoking. Figures of speech will thus help to attract attention and stimulate interest. They can make language formulations aesthetically pleasing as well as rhetorically efficient, and they can function as mnemonic devices. Not surprisingly they are common in idiomatic expressions of various kinds’.

In what follows we will see, therefore, that in general the metaphors and metonymies analysed above merge with other rhetorical devices which organize our headlines in an intriguingly poetic manner. These involve a number of syntactic and semantic aspects such as parallelism, punning and word play, irony,

oxymoron, morpho-grammatical aspects, and phonetic aspects such as alliteration and rhyme. These are good examples of commonly deployed strategies used to persuade and influence the readers' behaviour and lead them to a certain position which the journalist has intended (Cortés de los Ríos, 2010). For instance,

56) **Leaders. The dark side of debt**

Public markets for raising and investing capital are plunging into the shadows. (*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.9)

In this case Pink Floyd's 1973 music album *The Dark Side of the Moon* is adapted to the context of an item of economic news: due to the low cost of debt, private lenders, such as hedge funds, are extending vast amounts of credit to leveraged buy-out firms and other private borrowers, that is why '*the market for capital is plunging into the shadows*'. The **semantic parallelism** (and metaphor) between the moon and the market for capital takes place all the time throughout the article. The negative connotations of this type of 'debt' are linked undeniably to the dark side of the moon, to 'shadows', to 'moments of lunacy' and to 'obscurity'. In other words, these operations are taking place in the absence of light and therefore may be fraught with danger, since the circumstances under which they are developed are not clearly known. Consequently, 'the dark side of debt' highlights the potential dangers of such transactions.

Parallelism is not always semantic, though. **Formal parallelism** with regard to the structure of the collocation itself is also worth mentioning, for instance in headline 86) commented above the pattern *come*+noun builds up a coordinated structure with the lexical link *or* working as an axis ('Come rain or come shine'). Formal parallelism may also be observed in

26) **A survey of China. Pride and Prejudice**

If in doubt about your place in the world, fall back on nationalism.

(*The Economist*, March 25th 2006, p.16)

41 a) **Prison reform. Crime and Punishment**

Britain needs fewer prisons, not more.

(*The Economist*, June 24th 2006, p.14)

Collocations 26) and 41a) seem to resemble one of the central categories of phraseological units, that of **binomial pairs**. Also known by a number of other designations, including *fixed order coordinates*, *irreversible binomials*, *irreversible coordinates*, *binomials*, *freezes*, *twin formulas*, *paired parallel phrases*, *co-occurrences*, or (roughly) *Siamese twins*, they represent an intriguing and surprisingly diverse if minor category within the phraseology of English. In his pioneering study Malkiel (1959: 113) defined them as a

‘sequence of words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link’

Gabrovšek (2011: 20) says that

‘a fixed binomial is a structurally frozen and often irreversible conventionalized sequence of two content words – occasionally including proper names – used together as an idiomatic expression or collocation, belonging to the same grammatical category, and having some semantic relationship’.

Binomial pairs are a relatively heterogeneous group and can fulfill a variety of communicative functions, often showing emphasis or gradation, and indicating emotional involvement, informativeness, or precision (Gabrovšek, 2011: 20). They are conjoined by some syntactic device such as *and* or *or*, with *and* clearly predominating, and less frequently by prepositions. They may develop various

syntactic functions: e.g.

- nominal (*bed and breakfast, cause and effect, business or pleasure, Adam and Eve, ...*),
- verbal (*drink and drive, give and take, ...*),
- adjectival (*deaf and dumb, each and every/ older and wiser, sadder but wiser, ...*)
- adverbial (*here and now, here and there, ...*).

They may also have different degrees of idiomaticity: binomials can be semantically more or less transparent (*come and go, friends and acquaintances, loud and clear, peace and quiet*), opaque (*cloak and dagger, pins and needles, part and parcel, 'a necessary feature'; ins and outs, 'all the facts and details'*), or on the cline somewhere between the two end-points (*rough and ready, 'not perfect but good enough for a particular purpose'; bits and pieces, informal 'any small things of various kinds'; once or twice, 'a few times'; facts and figures, 'the basic details, numbers etc. concerning a particular situation or subject'*) (Gabrovšek, 2011: 22).

The order of the two elements is subject to various constraints and can only very rarely be reversed. Even though it is possible, in principle, to reverse the customary order of fixed binomials *'if special effect is meant to be expressed'*, violating the fixed order is often regarded as a source of unacceptability (James 1998: 72).

In regard to the relationship between elements A and B, Malkiel (1959: 125-129) has classified binomials as follows: A and B are identical, B is a variation of A, A and B are near-synonyms, A and B are mutually complementary, A and B are antonyms, A is a subdivision of B or vice versa, and B is a consequence of A.

In our view, therefore, collocations 26) and 41a) behave in a similar way as *binomial pairs*, as 1) they are sequences of two words linked by *and* and are used together as a transparent collocation; 2) they belong to the same grammatical

category, that is, they are nouns; 3) they have some semantic relationship: in ‘Pride and Prejudice’ A and B may be said to be mutually complementary; in ‘Crime and Punishment’ B is a consequence of A. 4) Though possible, their order is not frequently reversed, as they already exist as such in the speaker’s mental lexicon. Once more, creating a feeling of familiarity for the reader is one of the major reasons for using this type of collocations in news headlines. Moreover, using allusive headlines is a challenge to be unravelled by the reader, which should engage him/her long enough to appreciate the cleverness of the word play before moving on to read the story that accompanies the headline.

Typical binomial pairs found in the language of business English would also include expressions like ‘*terms and conditions*’ (where A and B are identical) and ‘*profit and loss*’ (where A and B are antonyms). We believe collocations 26) and 41a) are not so different from them.

To recap, therefore, using lexical substitution in press news provides the possibility of rendering headlines more appealing and more intelligent, which is why the phenomenon is so frequent. However, there are also certain **morpho-grammatical aspects** that should be mentioned. These include processes of morpho-grammatical modification motivated by the need to integrate the quotation into its new syntactic environment. Since this is only based on grammatical adjustments and not on the insertion of ‘new’ words, it might be considered to be less creative than lexical substitutions and therefore be less popular in headlines (Jaki, 2014: 22). The following examples display some of the possible grammatical modifications:

- 1.- changes in verbal tenses: e.g. 3 c) **Michelle Bachelet. Doing it her way**
[original collocation: *I did it my way*]
- 50) **Evolution: Stooping to conquer**
[or. col.: *She stoops to conquer*]

- 79) **Business and politics. Cameron preferred soldiers**
[or. col.: *Gentlemen prefer blondes*]
- 2.- Changes in the number of nouns; in our experience it is singular forms that usually become plural: e.g. 1) **Uganda. All the presidents' wives**
[or. col.: *All the president's men*]
- 2 b) **India. The long arms of the law**
[or. col.: *Long arm of the law*]
- 3.- Changes in pronouns: e.g. 3 c) **Michelle Bachelet. Doing it her way**
[or.col.: *I did it my way*]
- 4.- Changes in prepositions: e.g. 76) **Hedge funds: Mutiny about the bounty**
[or.col.: *Mutiny on the Bounty*]
- 40 a) **African stock exchanges. Out in Africa**
[or.col.: *Out of Africa*]
- 5.- Changes in determiners: e.g. 37) **Car retailing. Death of the salesman**
[or.col.: *Death of a salesman*]
- 82) **Fund management. A Miller's tale**
[or.col.: *The Miller's Tale*]
- 6.- Insertion of determiners: e.g. 2 b) **India. The long arms of the law**
[or. col.: *Long Arm of theLaw*]
- 7.- Deletion of determiners: e.g. 32) **Israel's new government. Farewell to the generals**
[or. col.: *A Farewell to Arms*]
- 8.- Insertion of the particle of negation: e.g. 59) **Germany and Islam. A night not at the opera**
[or. col.: *A Night at the Opera*]
- 9.- Changes in word class: e.g. 23) **Immunology. Gold fingered**
[or. col.: *Goldfinger*]

This list of grammatical modifications is not meant to be exhaustive, but reflects

what was found in the data in our corpus. In all these cases the writer exploits resources stemming from modifications where the reader is nevertheless clearly aware of the underlying original or canonical form.

Much more interesting is the pervasive role of textual factors such as **phonic elements** (alliteration, rhyme, rhythm or assonance) in the constitution or forging of idiomatic forms, which has also been looked into by Boers and Lindstromberg (2008) and White (2006): they claim that where choices could have existed for an expression, combinations involving phonic patterning take precedence over those not entailing them. That is, words will be chosen for the sake of generating a phonic pattern.

In this sense, **alliteration**, also termed initial consonant rhyme (Alm-Arvius, 2010) turns out to be quite a common type of scheme in the headlines analysed. The following ones appear to contain prototypical instances of this kind of rhythmic repetition of the onset of usually stressed syllables in language strings:

- 7) **Stockmarkets. Too good to be true** --> /t/
After an exuberant start to the year, stockmarkets have had a shock.
(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.66)
- 26) **A survey of China. Pride and prejudice** --> /p/
If in doubt about your place in the world, fall back on nationalism.
(*The Economist*, March 25th 2006, p.16)
- 48) **European leveraged buy-outs. The call of the continent** --> /k/
PARIS. American private-equity funds are increasingly attracted to
the old world. (*The Economist*, August 12th 2006, p.55)

Also the repeated use of the phoneme /d/ in the headline below could be

considered alliterative, even if these /d/ tokens do not always occur in initial position:

71) **The future of Kosovo. Independence days**

An independent Kosovo is coming. The question is how best to achieve it. (*The Economist*, November 4th 2006, p.16)

Assonance, the echoic reoccurrence of a vowel phoneme, is not as common, but it is arguably found in these instances:

3) e) **Virginia politics. Webb's way** --> /w/

RICHMOND. A Democratic candidate in sand-coloured combat boots. (*The Economist*, June 17th 2006, p.49)

76) **Hedge funds: Mutiny about the bounty** --> /ɪ/ - /aʊ/

The risks from hedge funds are not that high. Nor, investors should note, are the rewards. (*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.16)

A combination of alliteration (/p/) and assonance (/ɒ/ - /e/) is easily identifiable in the next example:

12) c) **Development. Of property and poverty**

Land titling is a good thing, but it does not in itself create capitalism. (*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.11)

Actually, this repetitive coordination of the same type of word form may also be analysed as an instance of lexical parallelism. It even appears to have trope-like characteristics because of the combined phonological similarity and semantic contrast between both nouns (*property* / *poverty*).

End rhyme is said to be prototypically a combination of assonance and end consonance at the end of the last words in lines in a poem (Alm-Arvius, 2010). However, in the next example, the end rhyme relies mainly on end assonance and the repetition of the phoneme /z/, as from the point of view of their consonants *arms* / *Yards* are only phonologically similar: /m/ and /d/ only match in that they are voiced / lenis consonants:

- 58) a) **Urban renewal. Up in arms about the Yards** --> /ɑ:mz/ - /jɑ:dz/
 BROOKLYN. A project recalls the mistakes of the past.
 (*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.48)

Sometimes the phonological resemblance achieved through modification is established with terms that actually are not present in the original collocation, but have been substituted in its variation. This is, on the other hand, part of the motivation for the lexical modification in the headline; other reasons are, obviously, semantic in order to match the content context of the accompanying news. This is illustrated by the following example:

- 14)b) **Afghanistan. Mission plausible**
 RIGA. NATO's leaders promise victory. But many are still holding back. (*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.58)

where the adjectives in both the adapted headline and the original collocation, if not identical, are at least very similar ('impossible' /-pɒsɪbəl / > 'plausible' /plɔːzəbəl /). The same happens with assonance:

- 44) b) **Share trading. The big squeeze**
 LONDON AND NEW YORK. Banks, brokers and exchanges fight over the crumbs of share trading. (*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.83)

‘Sleep’ in the original collocation has been substituted for ‘squeeze’ in the subsequent variation, nonetheless both nouns share the same vowel phoneme /i:/.

5.3.3 Wit and humour, punning

Among the different cognitive devices usually deployed by journalists in headlines, what seems to be pervasive in our corpus is a remarkable general tendency to **wit and humour**. But before we take a look at the humorous potential of lexical substitutions, the basics of humour theory will be briefly addressed in the following.

Alm-Arvius (2010: 15) says:

‘There is something paradoxical about humour. It is generally recognised as an important part of social interaction and individual reactions to various kinds of experience, but still difficult to explain and describe in an analytically and empirically satisfactory way. But at any rate we can say that it is to do with creativity and funniness, with things said or done that we laugh at or at least find amusing’.

Our conception of the humorous includes, however, an intricate complex of expressions and emotive reactions, so different people may laugh at different things. What some find amusing may irritate others, or even be felt to be boring.

Theories of humour have accordingly tried to identify the basic or recurring aspects of things we find funny, or our reactions to them. It is commonly accepted that humour theory can be divided into three major strands, i.e. *disparagement theories*, *release theories*, and *incongruity theories* (for example, Raskin 1985: 31-38). Disparagement theories are grounded in the view that

amusement results from a sudden feeling of superiority or triumph one feels from the recognition of the misfortunes of others (Ferguson and Ford, 2008: 288). Release theories go back to Freud (1905/1960) and generally assume that laughter provides relief after a struggle, tension, strain, etc. (Raskin 1985: 38; Mulder and Nijholt 2002: 3–7). Release and disparagement theories are to some extent related because humour enhances the release of suppressed emotions, such as aggressions – an idea also referred to as *catharsis theory* (cf. Ferguson and Ford 2008: 286).

Incongruity theories have their origin in Aristotle (cf. Attardo 2008:102) and are particularly relevant for linguistics, since they are said to cover the cognitive or perceptual dimension of humour. They see humour and joking as involving inconsistencies, discord, or a lack of reason (Mulder and Nijholt, 2002: 3–7). Even though a lack of definitions and clear terminology has been deplored (Ritchie 2004: 46-49), incongruity is nowadays commonly accepted as *the ‘most widely supported candidate for the role of “essential ingredient” in humour’* (Ritchie 2004: 46) and constitutes the basis for a wide range of further theories in this domain.

However, incongruity theories have also met with criticism. Connecting to the idea that humour is to do with inconsistency, Veale (2008: 63, 74–78) positions verbal humour within a general understanding of creativity and creative communication. In short, he says that it has to do with duality of meaning, or, more specifically, figure-ground reversal, as it requires a restructuring cognitive shift which gives prominence to aspects of interpretation that are conventionally backgrounded or less salient (cf. also Ritchie, 2004:80 for criticism of specific incongruity theories and incongruity in general).

One very central theory in the incongruity field is the *Semantic Script Theory of Humour*, commonly abbreviated as *SSTH*, by Victor Raskin (1985), which assumes that incongruity is an essential semantic/cognitive process. To give a

very concise idea of how Raskin sees joke comprehension in his own framework, it is best to resort to the following summary by Ritchie (2004: 70):

'A joke consists of an initial portion where there are two possible interpretations, so that two possible (configurations of) scripts can be associated with that text. However, one of these possible interpretations is more obvious and is the one naturally perceived by the reader/hearer, with the other meaning passing unnoticed initially. The final portion of the joke draws this other interpretation to the reader/ hearer's notice, suddenly and in a potentially surprising manner'.

What Richie calls '*final portion*' could more explicitly be termed the *punchline*, since punchlines are placed at the end in the majority of jokes (cf. Attardo and Raskin, 1991: 299). On the basis of this general description, it is possible to explain how scripts are understood to function in joke comprehension.

In Raskin's (1985:81) terms

'The script is a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it. The script is a cognitive structure internalized by the native speaker and it represents the native speaker's knowledge of a small part of the world'.

The term *script* was popularized in the 1970s by Schank and Abelson (1977), who viewed scripts as chunks of common-sense knowledge that one needs for text understanding. The notion of script opposition lies at the heart of Raskin's 1985 theory, which he builds on Schank and Abelson's view. According to it, a novel experience prompts us to either learn a new script or revise an existing one. Yet sometimes we get it wrong, and find ourselves triggering a script that merely seems appropriate, but which is actually truly and deeply inappropriate to a given setting, thus jumping to the wrong conclusions. This tendency to apply a script

before we know for sure if it is apt is most often exploited by jokes, which delight in tricking us into applying the wrong script to a narrative. When the moment of truth arrives with the punchline, we are forced to see our mistake, switch scripts and perceive a logic to the incongruity.

Raskin offers as an example the following joke: it concerns a young man who pays a visit to the doctor's office. With a low bronchial whisper, the man asks the doctor's pretty young wife '*is the doctor in?*', to which the wife replies with a smile, '*No, come on in*'. So what starts out as an apparent instance of a visit-to-the-doctor script instead turns out to be an instance of an affair-with-a-married-woman script. With this realization, we reinterpret what has gone before: the young man's bronchial whisper is not a symptom that needs a doctor's attention, but a way to avoid the doctor's attention in the first place. By hinting at the possibility of immoral behaviour, and fuelling the reader's suspicions, the joke succeeds in making the reader complicit in the conduct of an illicit affair.

In Raskin's (1985) view, therefore, the most coherent interpretation of a text is given by the most appropriate script that provides the most explanatory coverage. However, as we have seen, two or more scripts can be triggered by even a short text, and humour can arise at the fault lines where two scripts compete to provide an overall interpretation of a text. This opposition typically comes to a crunch point at the end of the joke, when the punchline forces a wrenching collision.

In other words, the whole text could theoretically be read in terms of either of the two scripts until the punchline. This means that the text is deliberately ambiguous until the punchline appears (cf. Attardo and Raskin, 1991: 308). At the punchline, the recipient realises that the script against which they interpret the short text is not the suitable one and is thus obliged to reread the initial script accordingly, which is commonly called *forced interpretation* (cf. Ritchie, 2004: 59).

In this sense Giora (2003: 7) says,

‘jokes [...] manipulate the very same tendency to opt for the salient interpretation first’.

Wit, on the other hand, can be considered as a special kind of humour, and it is explained in the following way in the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 1676):

‘Wit in speech or writing is the ability to use words or ideas in an amusing, clever, and imaginative way’.

Considering the subject areas dealt with in *The Economist*, the qualifications of the article writers, and the character of the readership -- *The Economist* targets highly educated readers and claims an audience containing many influential executives and policy-makers --, the headlines in this journal can be expected to exhibit qualities that are associated with this kind of intellectual humour.

Borau (2009: 81) says:

‘..., gracias a los antecedentes pelicularos del lector, se consigue describir en pocas palabras y con sugestiva claridad cualquier comportamiento o situación, por muy intrincado que resulte el asunto que haya que tratar, sin necesidad de que la naturaleza del mismo – política, bursátil, deportiva o social – haya de ofrecer la menor relación con la cinefilia. Más aún, traer un título famoso a colación, [...], conlleva cierto tono festivo, un acento irónico, aunque aparezca encajado en contextos de indiscutible entidad o importancia.’

(Translation: thanks to the reader’s previous knowledge of films, any behaviour or situation can be described in few words and with revealing clarity, no matter whether the topic theme is difficult to deal with or whether its very nature – politics, the stock market, sports or social affairs – does not offer the slightest relationship with the film world. Moreover,

mentioning a famous title [...] brings about a certain festive tone, some ironic emphasis/stress, though it appears embedded in contexts of undeniable entity or importance.)

In fact, in many of the collocations / headlines we have encountered in our corpus it often seems that non-literal meanings come wrapped in forms that are, superficially at least, absurd. Yet, it is the appearance of nonsense that challenges us to seek out a deeper meaning beneath the surface. Let's see an example:

80) **A new equality body. Snow White and the seven isms**

The replacement for the race equality body is being attacked from all sides. (*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.37)

The news item introduced by this headline deals with the creation of a new body within the British government, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights, which was supposed to fight discrimination on seven fronts (= seven 'isms): the rights of women, ethnic minorities, gays, the old, the religious, the disabled and the human rights of all Britons. At the time the article was published this proposed new organization was already starting to face criticism and complaints from almost all the political parties and social groups involved, mainly due to the possibility of one 'ism' trumping another.

As the tale says, Snow White is a young princess whose mother died when the daughter was very young. Although her wicked stepmother forces her to work hard in the castle, she retains a cheerful but naïve demeanour. Is this naivety what makes the journalist identify Snow White with this new body, which despite all the attacks is supposed to try to solve the problems of so many and so heterogeneous groups? Or is it just an ironic way of referring to Trevor Phillips, a black man, who would become head of this new organization?

It is also curious that the seven dwarfs are here substituted by 'isms': on the one hand, 'ism' is the usual morphological ending used, among others, at the end of uncount nouns that refer to beliefs or to political or religious movements (e.g.

feminism, Hinduism, radicalism) – *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 774) --, as they are the social groups represented by the Commission for Equality and Human Rights. On the other hand, both the number of movements or ‘isms’ mentioned and the number of dwarfs in the tale are seven. It is here where, in our view, lays the motivation for this headline topping the news item.

Similarly, in

83) **Governors old and new. The second term-inator**

LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK. Arnold Schwarzenegger promises to be nice to Democrats. (*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.36)

The hyphen in the middle of ‘term-inator’ looks strange and misleading: it is not necessary to read the name of the actor Arnold Schwarzenegger in the subheading to immediately associate him with his famous film. Why then a hyphen? And why ‘second’? Are there any other ‘terminators’ apart from him? Here the news is about Mr. Schwarzenegger as governor of California. The clue is in the second paragraph of the accompanying news, where we read :

‘Having routed his Democratic opponent in November’s elections, he has set a muscular agenda for his second term.’

‘Muscular’ and ‘terminator’ are associated with Arnold Schwarzenegger, and the ‘second term’ with the new period he is going to start as governor of California, which, according to the news, will be full with activity (>‘muscular’).

According to Veal (2012: 109),

‘... using deliberate ambiguity and outlandish imagery to communicate deeply felt sentiments [...] can be sensible and efficient strategies for achieving our communicative goals.’

In this respect, as Lennon (2011: 86) says,

'If lexico-semantic manipulation is employed, it will often involve minimal formal change with maximum semantic shift, for example by substituting a similar sounding word with a different meaning, in the manner of a weak pun. In such cases, the punning allusion functions in the manner of a deliberately distorted echo, often with humorously grotesque effects. These perlocutionary effects may contribute to various aspects of pragmatic meaning, especially irony, parody and satire. Yet the modified quotation must nevertheless still remind the reader of the wording of the underlying quotation in its original context, otherwise the allusion will be lost.'

Punning is clearly related to allusion in that both devices trigger two meanings, a primary and a secondary meaning (Mitchell, 1978: 226). Allusion is essentially concerned with playing with the semantics of the word and the pragmatics of the sentence. Nord (1990: 17) pointed out that the writer not only reproduces the form (or certain features of the form) of a short text segment, but also adapts its meaning to the new context. This results in **intertextual punning or word play**, achieved by displacing the quotation from its original context, possibly modifying it formally and then so integrating it into the host text that it takes on a **double meaning** in the manner of a pun. Its primary meaning is determined by the host text but the secondary meaning it bore in its source text is also activated and interacts with the primary meaning (Lennon, 2011: 81-82).

The reader / listener will assume, in accordance with the Co-operative Principle (Grice, 1975), the principle of effort in pursuit of meaning (Bartlett, 1932)⁸ and the minimal processing effort and relevance principles (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) that the secondary meaning is relevant at the pragmatic and affective levels

⁸ According to the principle of effort in pursuit of meaning (Bartlett, 1932), the reader is determined to fit each piece of incoming information into a schema.

in the manner of a pun.

In this way an intertextual literary allusion may be seen as a two-step process of conversational implicature (Grice, 1975). The two steps are, firstly, allusive reference (the writer implicates he is referring to an entity, for example, a text) and, secondly, allusive implication (the writer implicates some proposition concerning that entity, for example, a text).

Lennon (2011: 90), however, suggests that the listener / reader will be alerted to the possibility of an intended allusion by experiencing a stumbling block or check in language processing as the meaning of the piece of composed language in its original context intrudes on consciousness alongside a meaning being constructed epistemically. This is the first stage of recognising a conversational implicature. There then follows the inferencing stage. The allusion works first by means of metonymy at the recognition stage as the piece of alluding language triggers a larger text or context of use and then in the manner of a covert metaphor or simile at the interpretation stage as an implicit comparison between the two scripts or texts is perceived. It is a characteristic of allusion, however, that the intertextual reference may be missed by some readers or, if it is taken, that the implied meaning may not be understood in exactly the same way by all readers.

Figure 1 below would represent graphically the process just described.

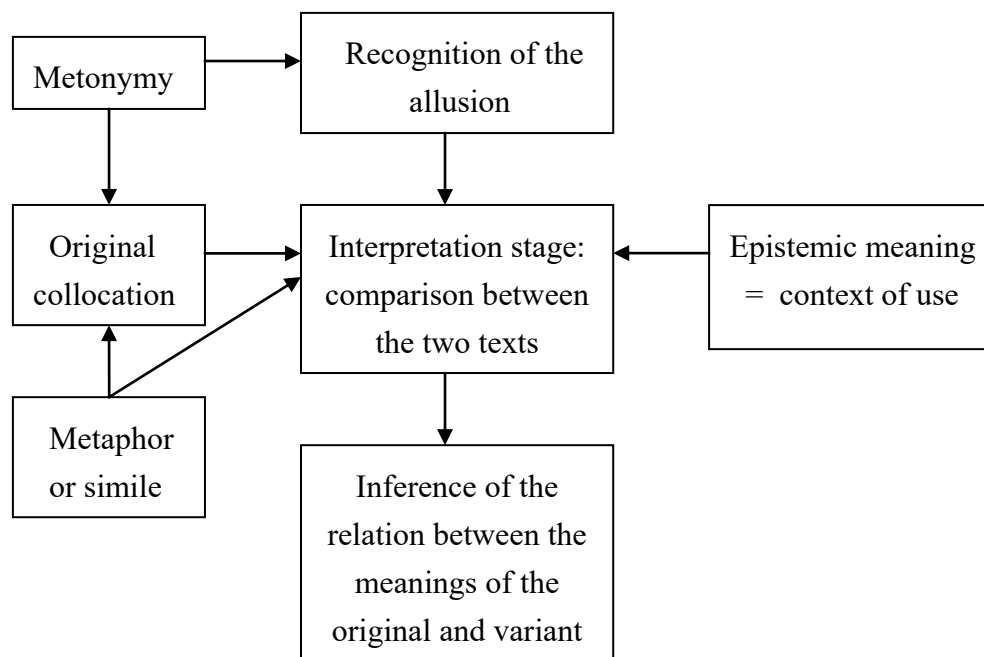


Figure 1. Stages of a conversational implicature.

In fact, many of the analysed headlines in The Economist Corpus may be said to have **punning** qualities. The substitution process is semantically motivated and has very likely been carried out in order to produce an effect of double meaning at the phrasal level. This may again not be clear before one has read the articles. However, when a headline seems to echo an idiomatic expression / collocation, a punning function can be suspected.

The Economist, an otherwise sober publication on business and political topics, seems to have an obvious weakness for this particular strategy, and its weekly articles on current affairs are frequently topped with this type of frothy and disposable wit (Veale, 2012: 139). This clever play on words and image that dominates this news story genre – that is, headlines -- must be a device easily used up by writers, so to avoid repeating themselves it becomes necessary to move on, to new clichés⁹ and variations.

Leech (1969: 209) defines a pun as

‘a foregrounded lexical ambiguity’.

Koestler (1964: 65) explains that

‘The pun is the bisociation of a single phonetic form with two meanings – two strings of thought tied together by an acoustic knot.’

Attardo (1994: 127-128) also notes that

‘...though couched in different theoretical frameworks, all linguistic (and non-linguistic) analyses agree on the fact that puns involve two senses’.

Partington (2009: 1795) suggests that all verbal puns are based upon the same fundamental mechanism: they are plays on *sounds*, or rather, on the resemblance between two sets of sequences of sounds (what Koestler calls ‘acoustic knot’). He stresses at the same time that **puns do not play with single words but phrases, larger units of discourse.**

He distinguishes between ‘exact’ puns and ‘near’ puns (other terminological variations exist, such as ‘perfect’ punning and ‘weak’ or ‘imperfect’ punning, Leech, 1969; Lennon, 2011). In an exact pun, two sound sequences which are *identical* are called into play. The simplest of these may exploit either homonymy (words alike in sound and spelling) or homophony (words alike in sound only). In the near pun, however, two sequences are involved which *resemble* each other phonologically (sometimes visually).

In our corpus the data show, as we have seen, that most punning may be considered as weak punning, based on the phonological resemblance of

⁹ In general Veale uses the terms *cliché* – ‘a frequently used phrase’ (2012: 71) – or ‘... readymades, simple phrases uttered in one context but put to new uses in another’ (2012: 151).

sequences of sounds due to lexical modification, e.g.

35) **Computers. For whom the Dell tolls**

The world's biggest computer-maker is stumbling.

(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.64)

Here the words 'bell' from the original collocation and 'Dell' differ phonologically only in terms of the initial phoneme. The phonological similarity makes the substitution process minimal to perfectly match the content of the news item: the market for computer equipment has radically changed, but Dell's business model has not adapted in response, thus its difficulties (= the bell tolls for Dell).

Only one case of homophony and another one of homonymy were detected. These were:

1) **Uganda. All the presidents' wives**

RUHAMA COUNTY. It helps to have a well-known husband in the forthcoming elections. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.46)

[original collocation: *All the president's men*]

Here homophony is the direct result of morpho-grammatical modification motivated by the need to integrate the quotation into its new syntactic environment, as we pointed out: it is all a question of spelling of the possessive case ('s) in combination with the number of the noun. Since this is only based on grammatical adjustments, it might be considered to be less creative than lexical substitutions. For this reason we do not consider homophony regarding punning to be very interesting in this case.

76) **Hedge funds: Mutiny about the bounty**

The risks from hedge funds are not that high. Nor, investors should note, are the rewards. (*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.16)

[original collocation: *Mutiny on the Bounty*]

Homonymy in headline 76), by contrast, is the result of the word ‘bounty’ being understood in two different contexts: on the one hand, the textual dependence /exophoric reference between the collocation and its source takes us back to Marlon Brando’s film, in which the ship was called *Bounty*. On the other hand, according to *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 158), one of the meanings of the word is ‘*money that is given as a gift or a reward*’, thus linking it to the sub-heading and, therefore, to the content context of the article.

In both headlines, however, there is additional lexical substitution: in 1) ‘men’ in the original collocation becomes ‘wives’; in 76) ‘on’ in the original collocation becomes ‘about’. If, as Partington (2009: 1795) contends, ‘*puns do not play with single words but phrases, larger units of discourse*’, then we can only consider these examples as two more cases of ‘weak’ punning.

In a pun, therefore, each of the sound sequences is designed to be associated in the context of the particular joke text with a distinct meaning. It is the relationship between both meanings and the subsequent ambiguity created which is the point of the pun and to what degree it is judged effective or humorous.

Both Attardo (1994: 133-134) and Ritchie (2004: 112-116) – as well as Veale (2012: 109) quoted above -- point out, however, that ambiguity in itself is not a sufficient condition for punning, that is, the existence of two meanings of a single sound sequence does not automatically make it a pun. As Ritchie (2004: 114) says,

'Puns which occur spontaneously in everyday life are not often very funny and are rarely recorded for later use'.

In order to transform ambiguity into a pun, Attardo suggests that puns, or at least the ambiguity, is deliberate, that is, the punster has to somehow alter features of the context of an utterance to force a second reading. In fact most punning jokes can be understood in terms of *lexical priming*: the punster relies on the hearers recognising or activating a conventional set of primings leading to a perception of a primary meaning before springing an unexpected secondary meaning on them. **All puns are, therefore, deliberate**, that is, they are *'knowingly constructed'* (Partington, 2009: 1796).

With these principles in mind, then, we believe we have demonstrated that many examples of headlines in The Economist Corpus use allusion to quotations or titles by means of lexical substitution and that may also be combined with -- or may be partly motivated by -- weak punning on the substituted word. Punning involving literal and metaphorical interpretations also produce typical variations (Alm-Arvius, 2010), though. Another example could be the following:

38) **Politics and petrol prices. Much ado about pumping**

WASHINGTON, DC. Ordinary Americans are responding fairly rationally to high prices at the pump. Shame about the politicians.

(*The Economist*, June 3rd 2006, p.45)

This is a punning exploitation of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the title of a comedy by Wm. Shakespeare. Here the process is one of grammatical and semantic transformation (modification): 'nothing' in the original collocation and 'pumping' do not even belong to the same word class, from being an indefinite pronoun it has become a verb with a noun function. The only resemblance between these two words is phonological, that is, a combination of assonance plus the ending '-ing'. This is in part the motivation for this modification in the

headline, which, from a semantic point of view, is necessary to make it match the content of the news item: the high prices of petrol and lawmakers whizzing around their districts trying to woo support by blaming the other party for the petrol-price ‘crisis’.

5.3.4 Irony

Together with wit and humour, **irony** is considered by most scholars as another one of the exploitations of the *cooperative principle*. This principle – most famously articulated by the philosopher of language H.P. Grice (1975) – is based on the assumption that speakers (and text producers) choose their words so as to effectively communicate their intentions to an audience. So, while irony is often challenging and sometimes devious, it is a manner of speaking that is designed to be understood and appreciated by an audience.

Veal (2012: 115) states that

‘To be ironic, one does not have to say the opposite of what one means, [...]

According to him, irony may involve, nonetheless, some kind of superficial pretence and demand a certain degree of insincerity from a speaker / writer. In most uses of verbal irony, this pragmatic insincerity (Kumon-Nakamura et al., 1995) is detected by noting the inappropriateness of the utterance to the context, that is, the ironic part of a description is semantically or pragmatically incongruous with the rest. Sometimes even a combination of the logical and the ridiculous is at the basis of irony.

Our experience of the world furnishes us with much of the knowledge that is needed to identify whether a particular assertion is sensible or ridiculous, making

us listeners / readers fill in the logical gaps for ourselves and, therefore, become complicit in the construction of the author's playful imaginings; in other words, listeners / readers collaborate with speakers / text producers to construct meaning among themselves, thus the *cooperative principle*.

In our corpus irony is easily detected in examples like the following:

5) **Executive pay. Book of revelations**

New ideas from the regulators for disclosing manager's pay.

(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.59)

The exophoric reference of the collocation in the headline takes us to the final book of the New Testament by Saint John the Apostle, also often known as *Apocalypse*, a religious (and literary) book whose title as a headline in no way would in principle match the content of a business and political article. The book begins with an epistolary address to the reader followed by an apocalyptic description of a complex series of events derived from prophetic visions which the author claims to have seen.

By contrast, the context of the ensuing news item calls 'book of revelations' to a study published in January 2006 by the Corporate Library, a governance watchdog in the USA, disclosing (= revealing) huge top executives' pay packages and retirement benefits -- as the sub-heading briefly anticipates -- that often bore little relation to their companies' stockmarket performance, as shares usually did worse than government bonds.

In other words, what has been and should be kept concealed for the top executives' benefit in order to avoid controls -- in the news article we read '*disclosure obfuscates rather than illuminates the true picture of compensation*'--, suddenly it is publicly 'revealed' so that everybody gets to know about their income. It is, therefore, the contrast between *secrecy* / *disclosure* (= 'revelation') that is at the basis of the irony -- and subsequent metaphor -- implied in the headline.

Similarly, in

59) **Japan. The A team**

TOKYO. A new prime minister picks his cabinet.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.66)

This American action-adventure television series, about a fictional group of ex-US soldiers, ran from 1983 to 1987, but still remains prominent in popular culture for its cartoonish, over-the-top violence (in which people are seldom seriously hurt) and its distinctive theme tune, among other things. The show's name comes from the 'A (=Alpha)-Teams', specially trained operations units during the Vietnam War.

But for the fact that The A Team work as out-of-the-law soldiers of fortune in the series, they are the best in their field and always act on the side of good and help the oppressed. In this sense they could be compared to a prime minister's cabinet, a top group who are always supposed to work for the people.

In the accompanying news item, however, the recently appointed Japanese Prime Minister's cabinet does not seem to be of everybody's taste, as we read:

'the style of these appointments has disheartened pro-market reformers'

The positive aspects of The A Team contrast with the negative implications established by the journalist in the news item. Besides, some of the members of The A Team are quite crazy and a bit ridiculous in their behaviour, which confers the humour to the series. This also contrasts with the assumed 'seriousness' of high politicians doing their job. In both these aspects lies, in our opinion, the irony of the headline topping this piece of news: a new Japanese 'A Team' is ready to get into action. A combination of the logical and the ridiculous is here also at the basis of the irony implied.

These initial findings will now be discussed and analysed to provide the rationale for the present study.

6 Discussion

6.1 Basic principles

Sinclair (1987) describes two basic principles of language organization. The first is the *idiom* or *collocational* principle, which sees normal discourse as largely composed of preconstituted or semi-preconstituted blocks of language (also known as ‘prefabs’ [Bolinger, 1972], ‘multi-word units’ [Zgusta, 1967], ‘schemas/schemata’ [Barlow and Kemmer, 1994; Moon, 1998; Stubbs, 2000] and ‘extended lexical units’ [Sinclair, 2004]). The other is the *open-choice* principle of language, which describes discourse production as ‘*a series of slots which have to be filled from the lexicon*’ (1987: 320), the only restraints being grammatical, that is, that only items from certain word classes may appear in a given slot.

In Sinclair (2004: 170) these two principles are also referred to as the *phraseological tendency* (equivalent to the *idiom*),

‘the tendency of a speaker/writer to choose several words at a time’,

and the *terminological tendency* (equivalent to the *open-choice*),

‘the tendency of language users to protect the meaning of a word or phrase so that every time it is used it guarantees delivery of a known meaning’.

Sinclair also argues that the idiom or phraseological principle of language is the dominant mode of interpreting discourse because it requires less time

and effort on the part of hearers, and that, if this failed to explain the text hearers¹⁰ retain the option of applying the open-choice principle. It is always possible to treat even tightly idiomatic phrases as if they were capable of analysis into smaller units.

Although Sinclair's work has been extremely influential, it is only fair to say that prior to his work there was a long and fertile tendency in the phraseological approach in languages other than English -- see, for example, Dobrovol'skij (1988) on linguistic and systemic phraseological universals, or Dobrovol'skij (1992) for a comparison of conceptual (cognitive) phraseological universals in English, German, Dutch, Russian and Lithuanian.

Giora shows, with examples from psycholinguistic studies, that **listeners normally access idiomatic interpretations of phrases in preference to literal ones**; as Sinclair she argues that **idiomaticity is more *salient*¹¹ than literalness** (Giora, 2003: 18-21).

However, the hearer resorts to the open choice analytical mechanism to reinterpret the (semi-)preconstructed phrase when their first reading fails to interpret the text satisfactorily, thus revealing a new, more concrete meaning very different from the more salient or more expected one.

Partington (2009) agrees with Sinclair and Giora and calls the process *relexicalisation*, that is, the 'freeing up' of the parts of a normally fixed or semi-fixed, preconstructed unit through the modification of normal priming prosody. **The effect achieved is that of novelty and surprise:**

¹⁰ In the present research the role of a speaker is comparable to that of a writer, and the role of a listener to that of a reader. The first can be considered as text producers, while the latter are the recipients of the intended messages.

¹¹ Giora and Fein (1999: 242) : ... salient, i.e., stored in the mental lexicon.

‘...the effect achieved is a general revitalisation of the language at that point of the text. Novelty breathes life into the discourse’ (2009: 1799).

Relexicalisation is thus one of the fundamental linguistic processes underlying many forms of phraseplay. The kinds of (semi)-preconstructed phrases which appear in such plays are of practically any sort, from proverbs and sayings to quotations, idioms or collocations. A rich source in some discourse types are film, book, TV programme titles and the like. And this process of relexicalising a common collocation seems to be particularly frequent in newspaper headlines.

A second related mechanism is that of *reworking and reconstructing* an original version, by which a (semi)-preconstructed phrase is presented in some modified form. The altered phrase is the one which appears in the text and is the one relevant to the current discourse situation – in our case, press headlines. **The effect here depends in part on surprise at the unexpected but also upon the challenge to recognise the allusion.**

In some ways those mechanisms are specular: in the relexicalisation process, the block is broken up; in the reconstruction one, some of the pieces are displayed and the hearer / reader is challenged to rebuild the block. Both of them depend, nevertheless, on the basic mutual recognition by speaker/writer and hearer/reader that the idiom or phraseological mode is the usual, default principle in interpreting normal communication, as Sinclair contends.

The writer uses this familiar knowledge to create familiar surprises for an audience, to devise and work out novel uses of language that depart from the familiar yet which are understandable only in relation to the familiar. The writer uses linguistic creativity to re-invent and re-imagine the familiar, so that everything old can be made new again.

Our corpus is replete with examples of this type, the following providing a good instance of this type of headline resource:

32) **Afghanistan. Dial M for mujahideen**

KABUL. The country goes phone-crazy.

(*The Economist*, May 20th 2006, p.63)

The accompanying news is about the great advance and development in the (tele)communications network in Afghanistan, especially of mobile phones (> ‘dial’, ‘phone-crazy’). On a first stage, the journalist has modified, that is, has freed up the parts of this preconstructed unit by substituting ‘murder’ for ‘mujahideen’, establishing at the same time a metonymy that refers to the whole country (Afghanistan). This *relexicalisation* process was necessary to better match the content of the accompanying news item. The reader, on a second stage, is the one in charge of the *reworking and reconstructing* process, that is, due to the exophoric reference of the headline the original collocation *Dial M for Murder* -- a film directed by A. Hitchcock in 1954 starring Ray Milland and Grace Kelly -- is immediately recognized and recalled. The cultural reference to this film must give rise to a sense of satisfaction on the part of the reader for having possessed this shared knowledge, from there, therefore, its appeal to the reader. At the same time, the clever play on words and image that dominates the genre of news headlines serves to build community and reader loyalty through bonding with readers via shared understandings of these allusions. The pleasure the reader derives from being able to crack the code heightens his/her enjoyment of the text and may encourage him/her to come back for more in the next day’s edition.

Partington considers both phenomena of *relexicalisation* and *reworking and reconstructing* as a type of **word play**. According to him,

‘... *word play involves creative and unusual use of language*’ (2009: 1795)

Alm-Arvius (2007: 20–22) also observes that the titles of famous books and films, as well as the names of other well-known products, can be taken to be so widely known within a speech community that they have acquired a kind of

idiom status. As a result, they can be the basis for a type of pun she calls *idiom breaking* (*relexicalisation* in Partington's words).

Word play treats all expressions in a similar way, be they proverbs, book or film titles or current political jargon. The point of this kind of word play is to generate a kind of 'smugness effect' in the reader when he/she recognises the allusion, with the ulterior motive of creating a bonding sense of collusion between reader and newspaper, always good for sales. As Norrick has argued, when the reader takes the challenge and passes the test by 'getting the joke', solidarity or rapport is reinforced (2003: 1342, 1348). Moreover, the reader's ability to break the linear flow of a text by activating links, and, in some systems, to add commentaries to the text being read, confirm at the same time the reader's active role in the production of textual meaning. As Veale (2012: 101) says:

'The active participation of an audience in elaborating a highly compressed meaning can turn a listener from a passive recipient into an active constructor of meaning'.

There is, then, a kind of semantic compromise: when the journalist encounters something that just does not work, he/she transforms the troublesome element into something more accommodating. These replacements are not arbitrary, but governed by an intuitive sense of what can be substituted with what. In our collocations, for example, the substitution of one word by another may be based on phonetic and semantic similarity, or may be motivated by strong conceptual grounds, as we have seen. As Jaki (2014: 56) puts it,

'The most important aspects in modification are intentionality and context-dependence.'

Therefore, the modification of our collocations in press headlines is produced deliberately a) particularly in order to increase expressivity, and b) in order to

better match the content context of the ensuing news item, the final goals being providing (simplified) information, arousing curiosity and persuading the reader to read on.

However, in order to interpret the headline / collocation properly, it is necessary to be in possession of the cultural knowledge, that is, the textual dependence that each collocation establishes in its headline – or in Baicchi's words, its exophoric reference.

Hearers / readers learn by previous acquaintance to recognise and then reproduce, that is, to interpret these preconstituted blocks (Hoey, 2005). As Herrera and White (2007: 297) argue:

'... most of the difficulties are overcome by the encyclopaedic or background knowledge readers bring with them and the pragmatic knowledge, including the cooperative principle, which tells us that the text must be meaningful in spite of first sight apparent semantic incompatibilities.'

Journalists must be conscious of this fact, so headlines in *The Economist* which include 'part-of-a-quotation' collocations seem to use memory retrieval and association of ideas as a popular intellectual game in order to establish the riddle and the subsequent relationship between headline and news item, that is, its cataphoric reference (Baicchi).

Since this magazine appeals to an international, educated, often dynamic readership, their literary knowledge and their familiarity with the titles of books, films and musical pieces quoted in the headlines of our corpus is taken for granted. If the expression is well known, then part of it may be left out or changed, as also happens with proverbs and sayings, thus all the variations accounted for in this research. Their communicative power would consequently fail for people lacking experience or competence in this respect.

Therefore, though the motivation behind these collocations may only be captured and savoured by well-educated people and could seem to be opaque to other readers, the cultural knowledge, which is implicitly present in the plane of content of these collocations, cannot be neglected. They thus rely on a stock of cultural knowledge, representations and models of reality that must be assumed to be widespread in the society if the headlines are to have meaning.

This may be considered, at the same time, as a particularly self-conscious form of intertextuality: it credits its audience with the necessary experience to make sense of such allusions and offers them the pleasure of recognition. Instant identification of the appropriate interpretative code serves to identify the reader as a member of an exclusive club, with each act of interpretation serving to renew one's membership.

6.2 Semantic underdetermination

Cortés de los Ríos (2010: 103), on the other hand, states that in general titles characteristically practise *underdetermination*. According to her,

‘semantic underdetermination is related to the distinction between what is said and what is implicated’.

It is generally known that -- more often than not -- there is a wide gap between what people say in interaction and what they mean, in other words, between what is *said* (which must correspond to the elements of the sentence including their syntactic character) and what is *implicated* (Grice, 1975).

In this sense, the most influential account of how indirect language works still remains that of Grice (1975). Grice regarded the processing of indirect language as involving two steps, firstly a recognition phase and secondly an inferencing phase. Essentially interested in the way conversation functions, Grice (1975) made the point that many conversational utterances are potentially ambiguous and only disambiguated by an agreed code of conversational conduct, which he called the Co-operative Principle (Grice, 1975: 45). This maintains that, unless they have good reason to suppose otherwise, listeners will assume that speakers are being co-operative by observing various conversational rules. Grice formulated these as four maxims, adding that there might be other as yet unidentified maxims.

The four maxims of conversation Grice (1975) identified are

Quality: Be truthful

- (i) Don't say what is false
- (ii) Don't say what lacks evidence

Quantity:

- (i) Don't say less than is required
- (ii) Don't say more than is required

- Relation: Be relevant
- Manner: Be perspicuous
- (i) Avoid obscurity of expression
 - (ii) Avoid ambiguity
 - (iii) Be brief
 - (iv) Be orderly

Listeners assume that speakers will normally provide neither too little nor too much information for their communicative purpose (Quantity), will be truthful and will not make statements for which they have no evidence (Quality). The maxim of Relation (be relevant) is articulated by Grice to provide an account of how language is used maximally efficiently and effectively to achieve rational interaction in communication. Unlike the other three maxims, the Maxim of Manner refers not to the content of the utterance but to its form, the manner of expression: listeners assume that speakers will be sufficiently clear.

These principles enable conversation to be conducted in an economical manner and dispense with the need for speakers to explicitly exclude logical possibilities of interpretation which are not intended by the speaker and not assumed by the listener.

In order to cope with the problem of how listeners understand figurative language, Grice introduced the notion of 'conversational implicature', which is determined by context and has to be inferred (Grice, 1975: 50). What is implicated may be either conventionally implicated (i.e. implicated by virtue of word or sentence meaning) or non-conventionally implicated (i.e. going beyond the normal meaning of the words used).

Thus, among the figures of speech Grice (1975) referred to are metaphor, hyperbole, litotes and irony. These will tend to be incompatible with one or more maxims. According to him, the Co-operative Principle is so robust that when the

hearer perceives discrepancy between the utterance and a maxim, he/she will look for clues which might resolve the discrepancy in terms of non-literal meaning. Grice thus distinguished two sorts of non-observance of a maxim, 'violation' versus 'flouting'. Violation of a maxim involves unostentatiously departing from it, as for instance in lying, which would be a violation of the Maxim of Quality. Flouting a Maxim, on the other hand, involves ostentatiously breaking with it and thereby creating a 'conversational implicature'. **Non-literal language will flout rather than violate one or more maxims.**

Lennon (2011: 89) says that allusion, in fact, flouts one or more of Grice's maxims. In particular, apart from flouting the Maxim of Quality (truthfulness), allusive language, like other forms of figurative language, is likely to be stylistically marked (flouting of the Maxim of Manner), and also perhaps apparently unrelated to the topic at hand (flouting of the Maxim of Relation).

Grice (1975: 50) suggested the listener will use the following sources of evidence in working out the implicature:

- 1.- the conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references involved,
- 2.- the Co-operative Principle and its maxims,
- 3.- the context, linguistic and non-linguistic, of the utterance,
- 4.- other items of background knowledge,
- 5.- the fact (or supposed fact) that all the relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case.

Coombs (1984: 482) argued that allusion may be seen as a two-stage process of conversational implicature, namely allusive reference and allusive implication. Since the collocations in our corpus may be seen as part of punning allusive language, this basic two stage model may be expanded and adapted as Glucksberg (2001: 77) proposes for idioms, especially for the cases where

modification has taken place:

1. recognition of the collocation as a modification of a conventional one;
2. retrieval of the meaning of the original collocation;
3. identification of the constituent meanings of both the variant and the original collocations;
4. comparison of the constituent meanings of the two collocation forms;
5. identification of the relation(s) between those meanings (e.g. verb tense, quantification, negation);
6. on the basis of this relation, inference of the relation between the meanings of the original and variant collocations.

Other theorists who have devoted attention -- whether explicitly or not -- to the difference between what is communicated and what is said, are also Gricean pragmatists (e.g. Bach, 1994), speech act theorists (Searle, 1979, Morgan, 1978, Bach and Harnish, 1979), people studying reference (Kripke, 1979, Wettstein, 1984), and relevance theorists following Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995), most notably Carston (1988). In most studies part of the emphasis is placed on determining what pragmatic principles adequately account for how the frequent underspecification of sentential meaning has virtually no effect on **the ultimate successful transmission of messages**.

This has much to do, from our point of view, with Ifantidou's (2009) distinction between 'hard' news (e.g. analytical reports on political, economic, social issues) and light stories (entertainment, fashion, arts, sports), and suggests that 'clear + informative' headlines, on the one hand, and 'intriguing + uninformative' headlines, on the other, may be suited to address different topics (hard news vs. light/entertaining stories), different newspaper styles (broadsheet vs. tabloid) and different readership preferences (information vs. curiosity arousal)'.

According to this, *The Economist*, due to the content and style of its articles,

should be aligned with broadsheets, therefore we should expect ‘clear + informative’ headlines suited to address ‘hard’ news. What we find, however, is quite the opposite: a magazine similar to broadsheets in content and style but addressing ‘hard’ news through ‘intriguing + uninformative’ headlines, though **creative**, just the same technique tabloids usually employ in headlines.

Dor (2003: 706) suggests that

‘The choice between these different tactical approaches [to headlines] is in part a matter of the editorial style of the newspaper, and to a very large extent a matter of the experience and creativity of its editors.’

And the results of Ifantidou’s (2009: 712) empirical work also prove that

‘... more serious topics in the domains of international news and politics are preferred when information is provided in creative style’.

A definition of *creative* looks necessary at this point:

‘humorous, playful, witty, punning, (employing) figurative language, rhyming, (drawing on) intertextuality, (drawing on) implicatures (rather than explicit meaning), (employing) literary style’ (Ifantidou, 2009: 707)

We believe the evidence presented in this paper demonstrates that these are all typical characteristics of the headlines in our corpus.

Dor (2003: 707) also suggests:

‘The most appropriate headline for a news item is the one which optimizes the relevance of the story for the readers of the newspaper.’

In fact, since 1975 Grice’s contention that figurative meaning is only understood

indirectly via literal meaning has come under heavy attack from various quarters. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 231-232) completely rejected the Gricean idea of flouting a maxim and argued that the guiding principle for inferring meaning is what they term *relevance*.

Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Theory of Relevance is, in this sense, an attempt to reduce a very complex set of phenomena having to do with communication and interpretation to a very constrained set of explanatory, cognitive notions. In its essence, the theory is one of cognitive *cost-effectiveness*. It claims that human cognitive processes are geared to achieving the greatest possible cognitive effect for the smallest processing effort. This principle is incarnated in their technical notion of *relevance*.

The notion of relevance is embodied in the two principles of relevance put forward by Sperber and Wilson (1995): a first or cognitive principle of relevance, and a second or communicative principle of relevance.

- The cognitive principle of relevance:

Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance.

- The communicative principle of relevance:

Every utterance conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), relevance is, then, a function or measure of two factors: (i) cognitive or contextual effects, and

(ii) processing effort.

The first factor is the fruitful outcome of an interaction between a newly impinging stimulus and a subset of the assumptions that are already established in a cognitive system. The second factor is the effort a cognitive system has to expend in order to yield a satisfactory interpretation of any incoming information processed. Defined thus, relevance is a matter of degree. The degree of relevance of an input to an individual is a balance struck between cognitive effects (i.e. the reward) and processing effort (i.e. the cost). The greater the positive cognitive

effects achieved, and the smaller the processing effort required, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at the time.

By way of summary, what the cognitive principle of relevance basically says is this:

'as a result of constant selection pressures, the human cognitive system has developed a variety of dedicated (innate or acquired) mental mechanisms or biases which tend to allocate attention to inputs with the greatest expected relevance, and process them in the most relevance-enhancing way' (Wilson, 2010:394).

In other words, in human cognition, there is a tendency for communicators to achieve as many cognitive effects as possible for as little processing effort as possible. This means that relevance plays an essential role not only for utterance interpretation, but for all external stimuli or internal mental representations like sights, smell and thoughts as well (Wilson, 2010).

Now, given the cognitive principle of relevance, it follows that a speaker, by his/her act of uttering a sentence, indicates that his/her utterance should be seen as relevant enough to be worth processing by the addressee. This is in fact what the communicative principle of relevance (above) actually says.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), every individual mentally represents in his/her mind a huge set of *assumptions*. These are propositional entities – they are the type of entities that can be believed to be true, for example, expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses, religious beliefs, fears and hopes, and so on.

When an individual hears, or reads, a novel assumption, he/she always interprets it in a *context*. The notion of context is understood as the subset of the assumptions which the hearer already represents in his/her long-term memory.

What the mind of the individual does in the process of interpretation may be thought of as a *comparison* of the new assumption with the subset of assumptions represented in the individual's memory. Sperber and Wilson name the cognitive apparatus responsible for this process of comparison 'the deductive device'.

To the extent that the comparison of the new assumption with the old ones results in a *change* to the individual's set of prior assumptions (if it either adds new assumptions, or weakens or strengthens existing ones), they say that the new information has a *contextual effect* for the individual.

On the other hand, it is assumed that the work of the deductive device involves some mental *effort*, which, at least theoretically, may be measured. The measurements of contextual effect and mental effort constitute the basis of Sperber and Wilson's notion of relevance: new assumptions are considered relevant if they carry a contextual effect at a reasonable cognitive price. By contrast, new assumptions are considered irrelevant if they do not carry a contextual effect, or if the computation of the contextual effect entails too much of a mental effort. Note also that this is a graded conception of relevance, rather than a binary one: new assumptions are not either relevant or not; they are more or less relevant than others, in different contexts, for different people.

Within Sperber and Wilson's theory, Dor (2003) explains that headlines can optimize relevance by requiring the *minimal amount of processing effort* -- by being short, clear, unambiguous and easy to read. Headlines can optimize relevance by carrying the *maximal amount of contextual effects* -- by being interesting and new. Headlines can optimize relevance by making sure the readers construct *the right context for interpretation*, and by making sure that their content is compatible with that context -- by avoiding unknown presuppositions, by containing names and concepts with a high 'news value' -- that is, those that should clearly appear in headlines--, by avoiding names and concepts with low 'news value' -- consequently, those which should not appear in

news headlines --, by connecting the story to previously known facts and prior expectations and by framing the story in the proper fashion – that is, the proper *framing* of the story according to the type of news (political, social, ...). Headlines do not meet these criteria all at once. Headline production consists of formulating the headline which meets the maximal number of the above conditions, thus providing the reader with the optimal ratio¹² between contextual effects and processing effort.

Although Dor's ideas may seem to enter into conflict with Ifantidou's (2009) in the light of the results of the latter's empirical work, however, we consider them quite interesting when dealing with tabloid headlines, which look very similar to those we have found in *The Economist*.

Dor (2003) goes on to add that tabloid headlines are not that different from the regular headlines which we find in more 'respectable' newspapers. Tabloid headlines simply take one relevance-optimization strategy to its logical extreme.

Headlines may produce more contextual effects by directing the reader to the appropriate context of interpretation. This is sometimes done at the expense of new information. This leads the reader to retrieve information from long-term memory, thus constructing the optimal context for interpretation.

Tabloid headlines can be thought of as adopting the strategy of keeping processing effort and new information to the minimum, and optimize relevance by maximizing the context of interpretation. This is actually a theoretical re-interpretation of Lindemann's (1990) formulations: tabloid headlines are not very

¹² In Sperber and Wilson's terms, *optimal relevance*: an ostensive stimulus (e.g. an utterance), on a given interpretation, is optimally relevant if:

- (a) It is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it;
- (b) It is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences.

informative, but they very efficiently

‘... trigger frames and belief systems in the reader’s mind; they evoke images and scenarios in the reader’ (Dor, 2003: 716).

Or as White (1998: 47) says,

‘The English headline is prepared to sacrifice clarity for the sake of impact.’

There seem to be, therefore, interesting rhetorical parallels between headlines in tabloids and headlines in *The Economist* issues under study. Jaki (2014: 40) suggests that

‘To judge from the given data from The Sun, the producers scarcely rely on literary allusions, but very often pun on either widespread idioms or on the titles of films, musicals, or British TV series, where one element is replaced by a similar-sounding one, ...’

That is, as we have seen in our corpus, similar rhetorical devices seem to be used in both tabloids and in *The Economist*, because, as mentioned, although this magazine resembles broadsheets in content and style, however, it addresses ‘hard’ news (e.g. analytical reports on political, economic, social issues) through ‘intriguing + uninformative’ headlines, though creative. This is illustrated by the following example:

74) Global health. Less Mary Poppins

The World Health Organization needs to help sick people, not be a nanny. (*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.13)

The first thing to note is that although this headline is relatively uninformative,

however, it is not completely devoid of new information, as it identifies the role the World Health Organization (WHO) plays with that of Mary Poppins. This new piece of information may not have a very clear designation, that is, it may be ambiguous, and we may be left with a lot of unresolved questions – Why? What does the WHO have to do with a nanny? –, but we nevertheless get a minimal amount of new information out of this headline.

The second point is that this headline very efficiently instructs the reader to construct an extremely rich context for interpretation – a context full of clichés¹³ and feelings – in which even the informationally-dull headlines carry more contextual effects than a lot of informationally-rich headlines in the more respectable newspapers.

On the assumption that *'linguistic stereotypes are formed by clusters of perceptually salient and contrastive features'* (Kristiansen, 2003: 76-77), in this case we find that the backgrounded aspects in the concept 'nanny' are those traditionally related with the real function associated with the job, that is, taking care of children in the absence of parents, whereas the foregrounded aspect is that of being too protective. In fact, as the article reveals, the WHO has tried to justify its activism in campaigns against obesity, smoking and other non-infectious ailments by arguing that, as developing countries grow wealthier, the economic and health cost extracted by 'lifestyle' diseases is soaring. Although this is true, however, 'nannying' by the WHO is unlikely to do much good, since many of these afflictions arise from personal choice and are not contagious. This 'Mary Poppinsisation' of the WHO diverts resources from other tasks and undertakings, at the same time it has neglected some of its core duties.

¹³ Mary Poppins has come in general to represent the ideal nanny for children; consider, for example, the Banks children's opinion in *The Perfect Nanny* lyrics in the film *Mary Poppins*.

In a regular newspaper, the same story would probably have been published under a slightly more informative headline than this one. However, headline 74), though not so informative, very efficiently raises in the readers' minds a complex set of notions – for instance, feelings of contempt for the WHO for getting involved in questions considered not proper of a UN agency, images of low status and prestige when identifying it with a nanny, a wish for a change in this situation ('less Mary Poppins') and so on and so forth -- which then constitute the context for the interpretation of the headline. In this context, the slight information in the headline carries a great deal of contextual effects: the story is not about the role of the agency as a vigilant watchman of global health, but a severe criticism on what the WHO should and should not do and even on its 'incompetence'.

In relevance theory, the sum-total of information available to an individual at a point in time is called his *cognitive environment*. It includes any information accessible to that individual from memory, perception or inferential thought processes (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 39), they are crucial pieces of information stored in memory.

From the communicator's end, therefore, some very important assumptions are being made: a) that the audience will have these pieces of information available, b) that they will be able to figure out that they should use them for interpreting an utterance. A person either lacking these pieces of information or failing to use them could badly misunderstand an utterance. In other words, for communication to succeed it is of great importance that the audience uses the right, that is, the communicator-intended information for the inferential processing.

Hence, assumption a) concerns the cognitive environment of the audience: the information needed for understanding an utterance correctly must be part of the audience's cognitive environment. However, for communication to succeed, it is not enough that this information is accessible to the audience – but, as

assumption b) states, it must actually be used by them for the interpretation of the text. In relevance-theoretic terms, this information must not only be part of the cognitive environment, but must also be selected from it as context – which is the subset of information necessary to interpret a particular text correctly (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:15ff).

Figure 2 below would represent graphically the process just described.

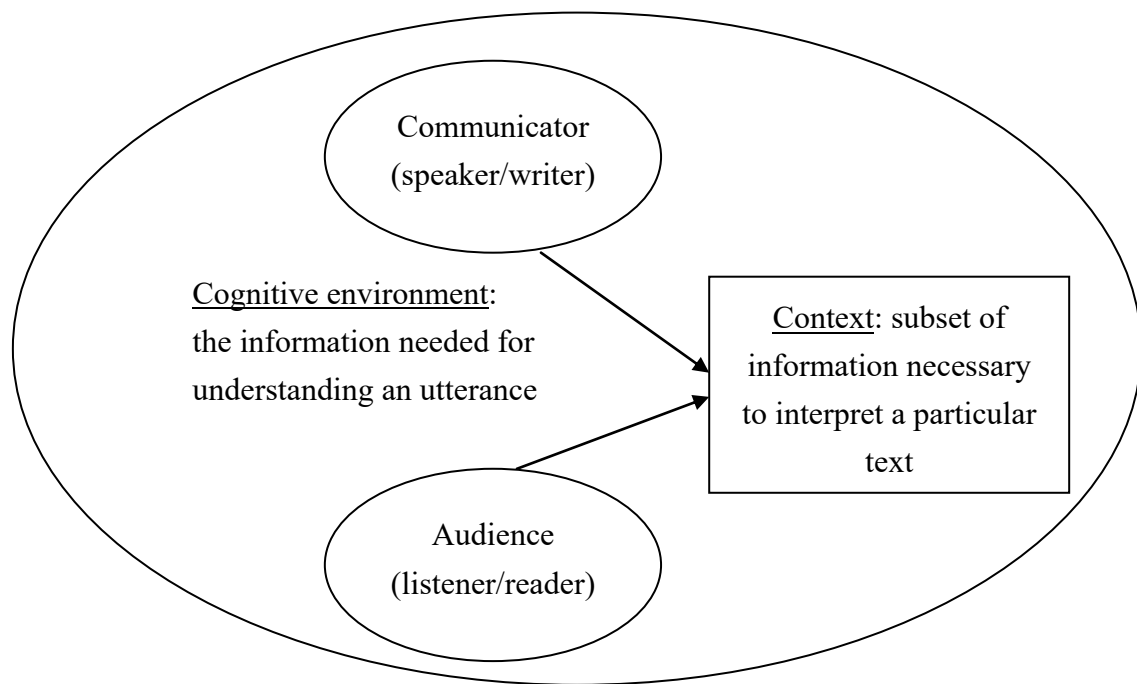


Figure 2. Communicator, audience and cognitive environment

For Sperber and Wilson (1995), the communicator's role is, therefore, in the end, to express the message in the most 'relevant' way, in the light of assumptions about the audience's cognitive environment. This includes communicating in the most **efficient** way, omitting what can be easily inferred, but making explicit anything whose omission would make the text harder to process. If the message is to be 'relevant' it must communicate saying neither too much nor too little to efficiently communicate the author's intended message.

In this way, communication relies on the communicator choosing how explicit or

implicit to be, so that the audience is able to accurately guess or deduce the fuller picture of what the communicator is trying to say, by ‘filling in’ what is left unsaid.

In this sense Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (1999), when considering the role of semantics in determining the communicative role of semantic underdetermination¹⁴, contends that semantic underdetermination is not only a question of sorting out propositional inspecificity by means of pragmatic principles, but rather the result of **a purposeful exploitation** of the range of semantic choices which grammatical constructions offer to the speaker in connection with pragmatic principles. In his view, **semantic underdetermination is a linguistic resource used to make meaning in certain predictable ways**. The hearer / reader only needs to contrast what is said with what is known and make the necessary adaptations in what is said to produce a relevant explicature (i.e. an explicitly communicated assumption) -- Sperber and Wilson (1995: 182).

In other words, headlines in The Economist Corpus may be seen as a type of linguistically underdetermined meaning, where the linguistically encoded meaning may underdetermine (not fully determine) the proposition a writer expresses by a particular linguistic string (see Carston, 2002). This is especially true in our case, as we are dealing with ‘creative’ or ‘non-informative’ headlines where figurative or punning language purposely leaves room for a variety of interpretations.

Headline interpretation involves disambiguating, that is, adding conceptual material or adjusting linguistically encoded concepts. These are enrichment

¹⁴ Semantic underdetermination: as was discussed on page 156 in this thesis, it refers to ‘the distinction between what is said and what is implicated’ (Cortés de los Ríos, 2010: 103).

processes frequently carried out in particular discourse contexts (see Wilson and Carston, 2007). Unlike ordinary cases of pragmatically fine-tuning the meanings of words in context, headlines are different in the sense that contextual information may be rudimentary or is often impoverished enough for readers to have to rely on a combination of encoded meaning and background knowledge, assumptions and interests to retrieve a plausible and relevant interpretation.

Every act of linguistic creativity is, on the other hand, calculated, that is, it is a purposeful (i.e. *'knowingly constructed'*, Partington, 2009: 1796) exploitation of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of language. Creative writers often harness constructive ambiguity for their own ends, as the most effective means of communicating a complex idea may involve the re-purposing of familiar forms and tired figures of speech (Veale, 2012: 9).

Or as White (2011: 107) says,

'[...] all the foregoing examples in some way or other evidence a deliberate strategy whereby the choice of words in the headline raises reader awareness regarding the strategy employed, drawing his or her attention not only to the semantic content but to the linguistic forms expressing that content.'

This awareness raising is more intrusive or more evident in particular cases and in these cases analysis can also reveal patterning. For instance, when fixed expressions are cleverly given some form or shift or other or where punning or wordplay are foregrounded, the sense of deliberate strategy or linguistic manipulation is all the more marked and this too, I claim, is a productive headline strategy.'

Summing up, therefore, how headlines in our corpus exploit allusive collocations, by both using them and by countering expected patterns, is a major contributor to

headline creativity. Phraseology provides language with ready-made chunks which are psychologically real (Partington, 2009) and which speakers can regularly call on as wholes. They are highly shared by a language community (Dobrovolskij and Piirainen, 2005: 31) which in forging them have hit upon a very apt manner of capturing a body of semantic content. Thus, partial components create expectations for the whole unit or for the semantic content of that unit. Consequently, their (deliberate) modification cannot but be highly creative since the fixedness of the received phraseological unit prevents in principle variation. Additionally such phraseological variations create a complicity between speakers / writers and listeners / readers since both speaker or producer's ingenuity is matched by the hearer or reader in that the latter's capacity to recognise the cleverness involved shows he/she is up to the challenge posed by the former (Herrera Soler, 2006; Herrera and White, 2007, 2010). The communicative lure effected by that device, the satisfaction at recognising pattern, at recollecting fixed expression and the bonding that develops between producer and reader, are all of them really appealing qualities for the reader when processing allusive headlines / collocations.

6.3 Blending

Complex domains of discourse and cognition, like those of politics and economics in our case, are notoriously hard to capture in linguistic analysis, in part because of the intricate imagery that is needed to verbalise the abstract phenomena pertaining to these domains (Brône and Feyaerts, 2005). A proof of this is that some of the most relevant works dealing with economic discourse do it through an analysis of metaphor. Among others,

- Boers (1997) pays special attention to a cluster of metaphors related to the notions of health, fitness and racing, for example, LONG TERM SUBSIDIES ARE ADDICTIVE or LAGGING BEHIND COMPETITION.
- Fuertes Olivera (1998) defends the cognitive value of metaphor in economic texts, analysing those used by economists to conceptualise the idea of inflation via the metaphors INFLATION IS AN ORGANISM, INFLATION IS A HORSE, INFLATION IS A DISEASE and INFLATION IS AN ENEMY.
- Gómez Parra *et al.* (1999) focus on metaphorical expressions in Spanish and English that reflect the metaphor THE STOCK EXCHANGE IS A MOVING OBJECT.
- Herrera and White (2000) propose a methodology focused on cognitive semantics to teach the metaphorical uses of GROWTH, as in ECONOMIC GROWTH WILTS UNDER HIGHER TAXATION or STRONG EXPORTS ACCELERATE GROWTH.
- Charteris-Black (2000) investigates the theoretical implications of metaphor for the selection and teaching of lexis on ESP courses. Of particular interest is the use of inanimate metaphors to describe economy as animals, for example, inflation as a horse (GALLOPING INFLATION).

- Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) analyse metaphors in financial reporting in English and Spanish based on the market crash in 1997. Their analysis showed that THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM is the metaphor most frequently used in financial reports, followed by MARKET MOVEMENTS ARE PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS and MARKET MOVEMENTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS.

- According to Millar and Beck (2004), as far as the metaphorical aspect of the financial crisis is concerned, two domains dominate, namely CONTAINER and WAR, whereas the third one – DISEASE – is much less popular in crisis rhetoric. The container metaphor is used to convey the fact that inside activities are controlled, whereas outside ones represent negative aspects, such as enemies or potential dangers.

- Serón Ordóñez (2005) analyses metaphor in financial texts from the translator's point of view. The semantic fields covered in economics discourse are the following: animated features, health, war, mechanisms, sailing, fluids, plants, meteorological phenomena, sports and animals. Personifications are used so that non-human entities may be categorised as positive or negative characteristics. The recession is personified by aggression, being defined as an adversary that attacks social measures (such as an instrument that can cut, hit or destroy).

Likewise Moore (quoted in Cortés de los Ríos, 2010: 83) affirms:

'For some reason the current crisis in finance/banking is attracting an astonishing bevy of analogies. Many people have gone for classic weather metaphors (tornadoes, hurricanes, whirlwinds), others prefer to up the ante and go for natural disasters (tsunamis, fires) and a few not wanting to be overdone in the over-egging go rather apocalyptic (black holes, doomsday machines).'

With the cognitive turn in linguistics since the second half of the 1970s, therefore, semantics has focussed attention on the question of how complex and abstract discourse domains are structured and verbalised. There is a general agreement among cognitive linguists that one of the most central structural mechanisms of conceptualisation is metaphor, which seems to be indispensable in the domain of economics, for example, as we have briefly pointed out before.

However, as recent linguistic and cognitive-scientific research has revealed, uncovering metaphorical structures does not always suffice for the analysis of the dynamic interaction between different conceptualisation mechanisms in actual economic discourse. Instead of a single, linear representation of an abstract or complex phenomenon (e.g. BUSINESS) in terms of a more concrete image (e.g. MARRIAGE / A DANCE), very often an intertwining of different concepts arises. In order to tackle these complex interactions in the construction of meaning, a more dynamic concept of *conceptual integration* (or *blending*) was introduced into linguistics and cognitive science (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998, 2000, 2002; Coulson, 2000). Whereas conceptual metaphor theories have proved their success in analysing established, conventionalised metaphorical projections like the examples commented above, the blending model leads to a more adequate description of highly complex and expressive cases of economic -- or political -- discourse. Because Blending Theory presupposes the interaction of conceptual structure taken from several domains, it can account for a much wider range of phenomena, including argumentative structures, humour devices, complex metaphorical projections and *ad hoc* reasoning.

In their 1994 work Fauconnier and Turner argue that a general cognitive mechanism – that of *conceptual integration* (or *blending*) – plays a central role in much (if not all) cognitive activity. They suggest it is in fact a fundamental aspect of all human experience and it is involved in everything from perceptual processing, to the experience of pain, to knowledge of cause and effect.

Turner and Fauconnier (1995) already showed how elaborate conceptual blending can be reflected by simple two word or one word expressions. They discussed the formation, meaning, and sometimes multiple potential meanings, of expressions like *dolphin-safe*, *jail-bait*, *Mcjobs*, *boathouse* vs. *houseboat*, *Chunnel*.

More generally, they suggested that grammatical patterns often reflect conceptual blends and integration of events, and in ‘Blending as a central process of grammar’ (1996), these authors suggest analyzing some syntactic constructions in English as blends marking processes of *conceptual integration*. It was initially designed to deal with the question of indirect reference and referential obscurity, but it has been proven that this theory can also tackle different kinds of semantic and pragmatic phenomena.

Discussed at length in Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2002) and Coulson (2000) – see also Roldán Riejos (2010) in this respect --, *conceptual blending* is a theoretical framework for exploring human information integration. Conceptual blending is a general cognitive process that operates over a network of *mental spaces* (Fauconnier, 1994) as inputs. Mental spaces are

‘...small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action’. (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 40)

They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold. Establishing mental spaces, connections between them and blended spaces gives us global insight, new meaning and human-scale understanding. In blending, structure from at least two input spaces is projected to a separate space, the *blend*. The blend inherits partial structure from the input spaces, and has emergent structure of its own.

In this sense Koops (2000: 4) comments as follows:

‘Once you see how mental spaces work and how they are connected to

each other, it is not difficult to see how content from two mental spaces can combine to yield a third space. This is called 'conceptual blending'. The third space inherits partial structure from the input spaces and has emergent structure of its own...'

In other words, two conflicting constraints or search avenues can often be reconciled with great concision in a single linguistic form that combines elements of two different solutions.

Fauconnier and Turner's mental spaces contain partial representations of entities and relations of any given scenario as perceived, imagined, remembered, or otherwise understood by a speaker. *Elements* represent each of the discourse entities, and simple *frames* represent the relationships that exist between them. Because the same scenario can be construed in multiple ways, mental spaces are frequently used to partition incoming information about elements in the referential representation. Although different spaces can contain disparate information about the same elements, each individual space contains a representation that is logically coherent (Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 177).

As elements within one mental space often have counterparts in other mental spaces, an important component of mental space theory involves establishing correspondences (*mappings*) between elements and relations in different spaces. These mappings can be based on a number of different sorts of relations, including identity, similarity, analogy, and pragmatic functions based for instance on metonymy, and representation (Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 177).

Linguistic cues or deductive markers give the listener important information when to divide referential structure and between which elements mappings can be established. Grammatical information cannot completely explain meaning construction operations, since the same grammatical structures can be used to form different mental spaces configurations (Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 177).

Fauconnier (quoted in Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 178) claims that

‘...meaning construction relies on an elaborate system of “backstage cognition” to fill in details not specified by the grammar’.

Background knowledge, general cognitive abilities and information obtained from the discourse context can be used to explain meaning construction operations.

Blending is, therefore, an integration of two or more sources of knowledge, whether linguistic or conceptual or both, to achieve a combined result that is novel yet familiar. In this process some elements get highlighted (=foregrounded), and perhaps even exaggerated, and others get cast aside (=backgrounded) so that the final combination can actually work. Veale (2012:136), on his part, calls this process *creative re-conceptualization*, that is,

‘...a process of selectively moving features from the conceptual background to the foreground, and vice versa’.

Baicchi (2003) in this sense says that one of the levels that prove relevant in titles / headlines is the level of information structuring, and more precisely the procedure of foregrounding vs. backgrounding. This is regulated by principles of efficiency vs. effectiveness¹⁵, which direct the producer’s choice about the quantity of information to be foregrounded. What is perceived as foregrounded is more natural¹⁶ than what is perceived as backgrounded, since foregrounding represents the most salient (Giora, 2003) feature and the most energy-saving

¹⁵ See pages 211-212 in this research for a more complete account of these concepts.

¹⁶ Baicchi (2003: 332): *‘Naturalness assumes that the structures of a language are organised according to principles of maximum transparency—i.e. immediate, easy access to the referent -- in the relationship between form and content’.*

approach to information processing. From this perspective, titles / headlines, expectedly, foreground salient information which is fundamental to the interpretative process.

In other words, titles / headlines are expected to contain elements similar to or congruent with the text content (Baicchi, 2003: 329). By tearing a certain detail or fragment of information from the story and foregrounding it in the title, a different decoding and interpretation process is triggered. This choice highlights part of the theme of the story, thus facilitating the reader's understanding of the story, guiding the reader's interpretation and enhancing the interpretation process. **Titles, in this way, rely on their text base to acquire coherence and define cohesion with the ensuing text.** In this sense, good evidence was provided on pages 165-167 in this work, where we discussed

74) **Global health. Less Mary Poppins**

The World Health Organization needs to help sick people, not be a nanny.
(*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.13)

and found that the backgrounded aspects in the concept 'nanny' are those traditionally related with the real function associated with the job, that is, taking care of children in the absence of parents, whereas the foregrounded aspect is that of being too protective. Or, for example, on page 91 about

87) **Terrorism in India. Murder on the Friendship Express**

DELHI. Despite the latest bombing, the peace process between India and Pakistan drags on. (*The Economist*, February 24th 2007, p.55)

in which we discovered that Agatha Christie's 1934 novel (*Murder on the Orient Express*) went through lexical substitution to match the content of the article about a train called the Friendship Express running between Pakistan and India.

Conceptual integration network consists of minimum two input spaces, one generic space and one blended space, and there is also a cross-space mapping which connects counterparts in the input spaces. Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 40) add that

‘such counterpart connections are of many kinds: connections between frames and roles in frames, connections of identity or transformation or representation, analogical connections, metaphoric connections, a more generally, “vital relations” mappings...’

A cross-space mapping is created when matches between the spaces are constructed. However, the network model of conceptual integration can consist of several input spaces and also of multiple blended spaces.

According to Coulson and Oakley (2000: 179), blending analyses involve several stages. First, an example that hypothetically involves blending is introduced. Then follows a description of conceptual structure in each of the spaces that form the conceptual integration network. This involves describing the structure in the input and generic spaces and establishing mappings between elements. Finally, the structure in the blended space is described, paying special attention to which aspects of its structure originate from each of the inputs.

The generic space maps onto each input space and characteristics that the inputs have in common are incorporated in the generic space.

The blended space is the forth mental space in the network. It develops the emergent structure that is not present in the inputs. The blended space is connected to the generic space. The generic structure present in the generic space is incorporated in the blended space. The blended space also contains structures that cannot be found in the inputs. It is the composition of elements that makes relations that do not exist in the inputs possible in the blend. Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 20) claim that

'finding correspondences that look as if they are objectively there requires the construction of new imaginative meaning that is indisputably not there'.

It is important to clarify the differences between the emergent structure and the structure present in each of the inputs. Clarifying the differences between these structures, according to Coulson and Oakley (2000: 180),

'justifies the claim that conceptual blending gives rise to the emergent structure that frequently sustains reasoning.'

Emergent structure is a result of three blending processes: composition, completion and elaboration. *Composition* is a blending process in which a relation from one mental space is ascribed to an element or elements from other input spaces. As Coulson and Oakley (2000: 180) put it,

'the emergent structure arises from contextual accommodation of a concept from one domain to apply to elements in a different domain.'

There are geometrical regularities that govern the network and Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 44) point out that

'... anything fused in the blend projects back to counterparts in the input spaces.'

Completion is a blending process that takes places when information in long term memory is matched to the structure in the blend. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 43), completion raises additional structure to the blend and when this structure is added the blend is integrated. Veale and O'Donoghue (quoted in Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 181) claim that completion can be carried out by using the process of spreading activation through a semantic network. They define a *semantic network* as

'a model of conceptual structure in which concepts are represented as

hierarchies of interconnected concept nodes.'

In order to get from one concept to another, activation would have to spread through part or parts that represent relations between concepts. Veale and O'Donoghue further claim that three problems that occur in the comprehension of metaphors, as well as other kinds of blends, can be solved by using the process of spreading activation.

Elaboration is closely related to completion. Running of the blend or its elaboration modifies the blend. During the elaboration, links to the inputs are preserved, and Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 44) add that

'...all these 'sameness' connections across spaces seem to pop out automatically, yielding to a flash of comprehension...'

They further claim that this flash will take place only if counterpart links are unconsciously preserved. Elaboration usually entails mental or physical simulation of the event in the blend. Coulson and Oakley (2000: 181) distinguish coupled and decoupled elaboration. They claim that little or no physical realization is involved in decoupled elaboration. Coupled elaboration can form action blends in which activity patterns from one domain are applicable to elements from another domain.

Behind the possibilities for conceptual blending, there is an entire system of interacting principles. In order to explain one of the products of this system, it is necessary to tackle the entire system. This system rests on conceptual compression, which has an effect on a set of relations strongly influenced by shared social experience and fundamental human neurobiology. These relations are also referred to as *vital relations*. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) distinguish the following vital relations:

1. Change: a vital relation that connects one element to another element and sets of elements to other sets; mental spaces are not static, and because of that this

vital relation can be present within a single mental space.

2. Identity: a product of complex, unconscious work; despite their differences, mental spaces are connected with relations of personal identity; objective resemblance and shared visible characteristics are not criteria for identity connections across spaces; it is not obligatory for the identity connectors to be one-to-one across spaces.

3. Time: a vital relation connected to memory, change, understanding the relationship of cause and effect.

4. Space: a vital relation that brings inputs separated in input spaces into a single physical space within the blended space.

5. Cause–Effect: a vital relation that connects one element, as a cause, with another element that counts as its effect.

6. Part–Whole: a vital relation that fuses part–whole mappings across spaces into one.

7. Representation: it is possible for one input to have a representation of the other; in the conceptual integration network one input corresponds to the item represented and the other to the element that represents it.

8. Role: within the conceptual integration network one element, as a role, can be connected to another element that is regarded as being its value.

9. Analogy: a vital relation that connects two different blended spaces that through blending obtain the same frame structure.

10. Disanalogy: a vital relation that is based on Analogy. Psychological research has shown that people find it much more difficult to tell the difference between two things that are completely different than between those that are similar in some way.

11. Property: an inner-space vital relation that links certain elements with their property; an outer-space vital relation of some kind is compressed into an inner space vital relation of Property in the blend.

12. Similarity: an inner-space vital relation that connects elements with properties they have in common.

13. Category: an inner-space vital relation that links elements with categories they belong to. Analogy as an outer-space vital relation can be compressed into an inner space vital relation of Category in the blend.

14. Intentionality: a vital relation that includes vital relations connected with hope, desire, fear, memory, etc.; this vital relation is extremely important, because every action, thought, feeling is based on relations it applies to.

15. Uniqueness: a crucial vital relation, because many vital relations are compressed into Uniqueness into blend.

Gibbs (quoted in Coulson and Oakley 2000: 186), on the other hand, claims that

‘blending theory runs the risk of being too powerful, accounting for everything and explaining nothing.’

However, Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2002) suggest a set of *optimality principles* that further clarify the relations within the conceptual integration network. They claim that under these principles blends function most efficiently, but also point out that satisfying one of these principles does not automatically involve satisfying another one. These principles include:

1. Integration: the blend is regarded as being an integrated unit and it can only be manipulated as such. More generally, every space in the blend structure should have integration.

2. Web: the web of suitable mappings to the input spaces must be preserved in case of manipulation of the blend.
3. Unpacking: the blend alone must enable the understander the reconstruction of the entire network, that is, the inputs, the cross-space mapping, the generic space, and the network of connections between all these spaces.
4. Topology: relations of the elements in the blend should be connected with the relations of their counterparts in other spaces.
5. Good reason: every element in the conceptual integration network must be connected to other spaces and it must have a significant function in running the blend.
6. Metonymic tightening: when elements that are metonymically related are projected to the blend, their metonymic connections decrease the distance between them.

According to Coulson and Oakley (2000:186), these principles limit the spectrum of possible blending analyses and make the conceptual integration theory less arbitrary. All governing principles must be satisfied for the blend to run successfully. Unlike governing principles that all must be present in the blend, it is not likely that all vital relations will be present in a particular blend. It is argued that both vital relations and governing principles can account for idiom modifications.

How do all these theoretical explanations hinge on our evidence and its analysis? We can approach this issue by showing how some of our examples effectively illustrate the previous basics on *blending*. We have already commented the headline

20) **Political sleaze. Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

This might involve the construction of two mental spaces. In input space one, we have the collocation *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, the title of Hardy's novel. In input space two, we have British political affairs, which embrace the Jowells' affair and 'the Virgin Isles'. Within input space two, we have double metonymy, PART FOR WHOLE, since the Jowells' affair stands for British political affairs and 'the Virgin Isles' stand for the Jowells' bribery scandal. This vital relation is also compressed in the blend, but within the blend 'the Virgin Isles' do not stand for a specific scandal, but for British political affairs in general. Input spaces are connected by the vital relation of Identity since both *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and Tessa Jowell are women and share the same nickname (Tess). For this reason it is also possible to claim that the two input spaces are connected via the vital relation of Similarity. Besides, both represent failure or lack of success in life, although the reasons for it are different. The emergent structure (blended space) inherits the collocation structure from input space one, as well as lexical projections from input space two. Elements in the blend match their counterparts in other spaces. The blend is tightly integrated and can be manipulated as a single unit, which means that the Integration principle is met. The blend prompts for the reconstruction of the entire network and therefore satisfies the Unpacking principle.

Blends and mental spaces can be represented in the form of a diagram, in which circles represent mental spaces and the solid lines indicate vital relations. The dotted and dashed lines indicate connections between inputs and generic and blended spaces, that is, elements in the blend are linked with their counterparts in input spaces and therefore satisfy the Relevance principle. The blended space inherits the collocation structure from input space one, as well as the lexical

projections from input space two (dotted lines). Emergent structure within the blended space is represented with the solid square. Every element in the network is significant and linked to the elements in other spaces.

The diagram in *Figure 3* illustrates the conceptual integration network for the modified collocation ‘Tess of the Virgin Isles’.

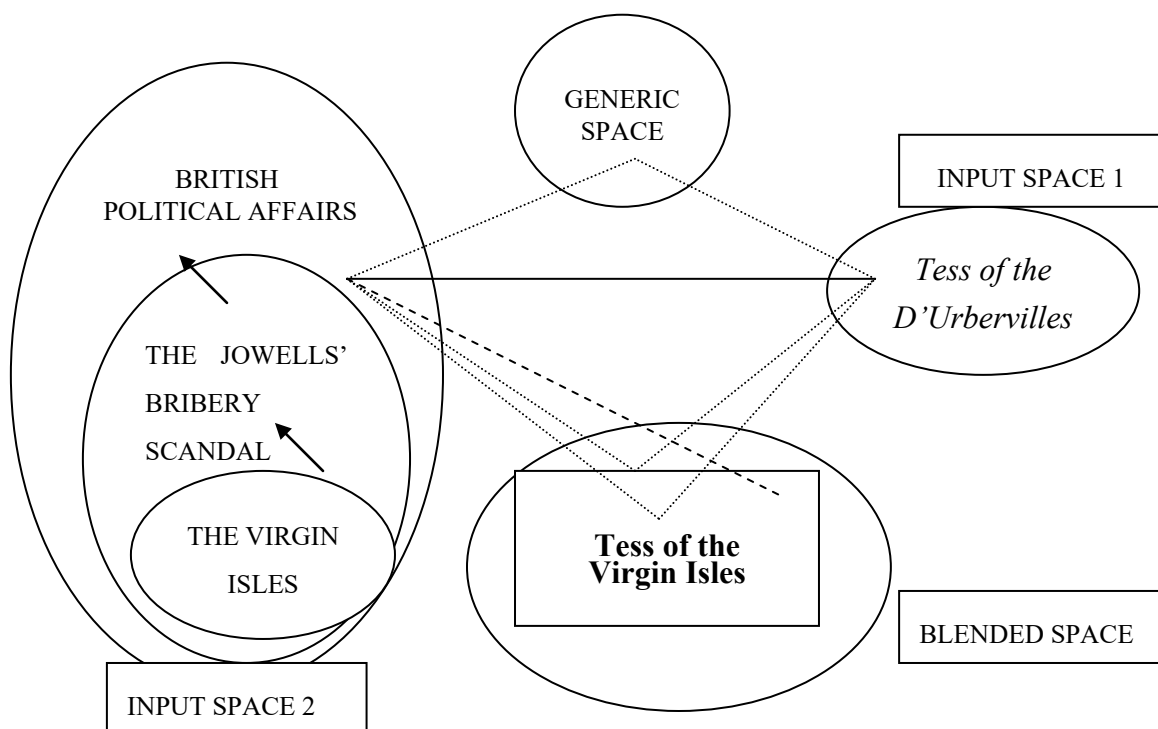


Figure 3. Conceptual integration network for *Tess of the Virgin Isles*.

[Personal elaboration on the basis of a diagram by Fauconnier and Turner, 2002]

This blending process could also be responsible, among other things, for this telegram-like sort of style, which helps the journalist to concentrate meaning in only a few words. In fact, processes of representational contracting and stretching are what Fauconnier and Turner (2000) refer to as *compression* and *decompression*, phenomena which they see as central to Blending Theory. One place where compression is quite frequent is in news headlines, such as

30) **Afghanistan. Bleak courthouse**

KABUL. Where justice still leans on the Koran and the whip.

(*The Economist*, April 15th 2006, p.60)

33) **Israel's new government. Farewell to the generals**

TEL AVIV. What change will be brought about by civilians running

Israel? (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.46)

In each case, the representation in the blended space may be interpretable because of metonymic or metaphoric relationships between elements in the blended space and elements in the inputs. For example, the blended space in headline 30) is interpretable because of metaphoric mappings between a *Bleak House* (Dickens' novel) – 'bleak' meaning a cold, bare and unwelcoming place (*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*, 1987: 138) -- and the English Chancery court system Dickens so strongly criticises; a metonymic connection between this house and the law court/legal system, as well as metaphoric mappings between this old unfair English system and the law courts in Afghanistan, where justice still relies on old-fashioned and no-longer used means and punishments.

The blended space for the second example (headline 33) may also be interpretable because of conventional metonymic mappings between 'generals' and the military forces, or even military governments, they represent, and a metaphoric connection between the beginning of a new government system and the beginning of a journey, when a person says goodbye to everything he/she is leaving behind; in this case, they are saying goodbye to an old government system controlled by the military forces represented by the generals who were in charge of it. At the same time, the exophoric reference to Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* is at the base of it all.

Our analysis, therefore, suggests that the modified collocations in The Economist Corpus are compressed versions of the canonical forms and new contexts. They are also well-integrated, manageable language units, which preserve and intensify vital relations. New elements appearing in modified collocations are relevant and, as a result of all this, modified collocations prompt for their own unpacking.

We have previously mentioned the concept of *frames*, representing the relationships that exist between the elements of different discourse entities (see page 176). Semantic *frames* have often been associated with the work of Charles Fillmore (1975, 1982). This refers to the coherent organisation of human knowledge required to understand a particular word or sentence. As such, frames are idealized, skeletal and continuously updated and modified on the basis of on-going human experience. What frames do is that they give meaning to the words or sentences we use to talk about our experiences by relating the elements and entities associated with a particular situation or event. These elements and entities need, however, not be mentioned explicitly, but will be inferred once the particular or specific frame has been accessed (Luchjenbroers and Aldridge, 2007).

Lakoff (2001: 24, 47) says that *frames* are cognitive

‘clues that tell everyone how to understand what has occurred...a structure of expectation... a body of knowledge that is evoked in order to provide an inferential base for the understanding of an utterance’.

Matthews (2008: 166) states that

‘These frames are mental projections that are shaped by a person’s understanding of the world and those things that inhabit or structure it. Frames comprise the context within which all forms of interaction take place’.

These forms of interaction would, therefore, include all human perception, interpretation, and communication. Robert Koops (2000: 3) makes this comment on such frames:

‘A general schema, frame, or model is used to structure a situation in context. Such schemas are activated by certain grammatical constructions and vocabulary’.

In the examples commented above, the following headline

30) **Afghanistan. Bleak courthouse**

makes us immediately recall everything connected with justice and the legal system. On the other hand, the headline

33) **Israel’s new government. Farewell to the generals**

makes reference to different aspects related to the military forces. In both cases, however, no details of the general frames are necessary to be mentioned, as they are already in the reader’s / listener’s mind.

Another very interesting case of blending is, in our view, the following:

4) **Nigeria. Pouring trouble on oily waters**

LAGOS. Rebels in the main oil region are threatening stability nationwide.
(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.41)

In principle we believed it was an ordinary mixed type of insertion + expansion, as we already explained on page 79 in this research: after the canonical collocation *Troubled Waters* – a film directed by J. Stead in 2006 –, the insertion of *on oily* and the expansion of *pouring* were necessary to better match the content context of the accompanying news. This deals with the increasing tension and attacks by the MEND (the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger

Delta) on multinational companies' oil installations in the Niger Delta, Nigeria's oil-producing region: locals feel bitter and their resentment is turning into anger towards the multinational companies because their villages remain poor, Nigeria's oil wealth passes them by, and, worst of all, oil companies have polluted the area. The whole situation is, at the same time, affecting national politics, as the president of Nigeria, unable to bring benefits to ordinary Nigerians, has to fight against corruption and political thuggery, which are messing things up even more.

After checking the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 1565), we found out that in entry n. 3 for the word *troubled*, there appears: '*If you pour oil on troubled waters, you try to calm down a difficult situation*'. To our surprise this definition turned headline n. 4 into a clear case of what we have termed 'rephrasing' (see page 73 in this research), that is, the reordering of the parts of the original expression, in which *oil* and *troubled* have, not only swapped places, but also exchanged their categories: the adjective *troubled* has become a noun (*trouble*) and the noun (*oil*) has become an adjective (*oily*). As Jaki (2014: 27) puts it, this technique can be considered an excellent method of proving the writer's cleverness. Moreover, the irony implied by the headline is for a difficult situation in which, despite Nigeria's oil wealth, poverty and pollution (= *oily waters*) are, nevertheless, huge problems for the population in the Niger Delta, who appear to see no solution to this situation. It is not surprising their anger has made the MEND cause (= *pour*) *trouble* in the area. That is, instead of improving (= *pouring oil on troubled waters*), the situation is getting worse (= *pouring trouble on oily waters*).

Bearing all this in mind, and taking into account the basics for Blending Theory, we may suggest that the emergent structure within the blend inherits the structure *pouring oil on troubled waters*, as well as selective salient projections from input space two, which embraces our knowledge of the situation in the Niger Delta described in the news item. Input space one and the emergent structure within the

blend are connected via the vital relation of Disanalogy. The scenario from input space one and the one in the blend are diametrically opposed. Basically, what is considered as recommendable in input space one (*to try to calm down a difficult situation*) cannot be avoided in the blend. Elements in the blend are linked with their counterparts in input spaces and therefore satisfy the Relevance principle. The blend is closely integrated and can be manipulated as a single unit, which means that the Integration principle is met. Blend prompts for the reconstruction of the entire network and therefore satisfies the Unpacking principle.

The diagram in *Figure 4* illustrates the conceptual integration network for the modified collocation ‘Pouring trouble on oily waters’.

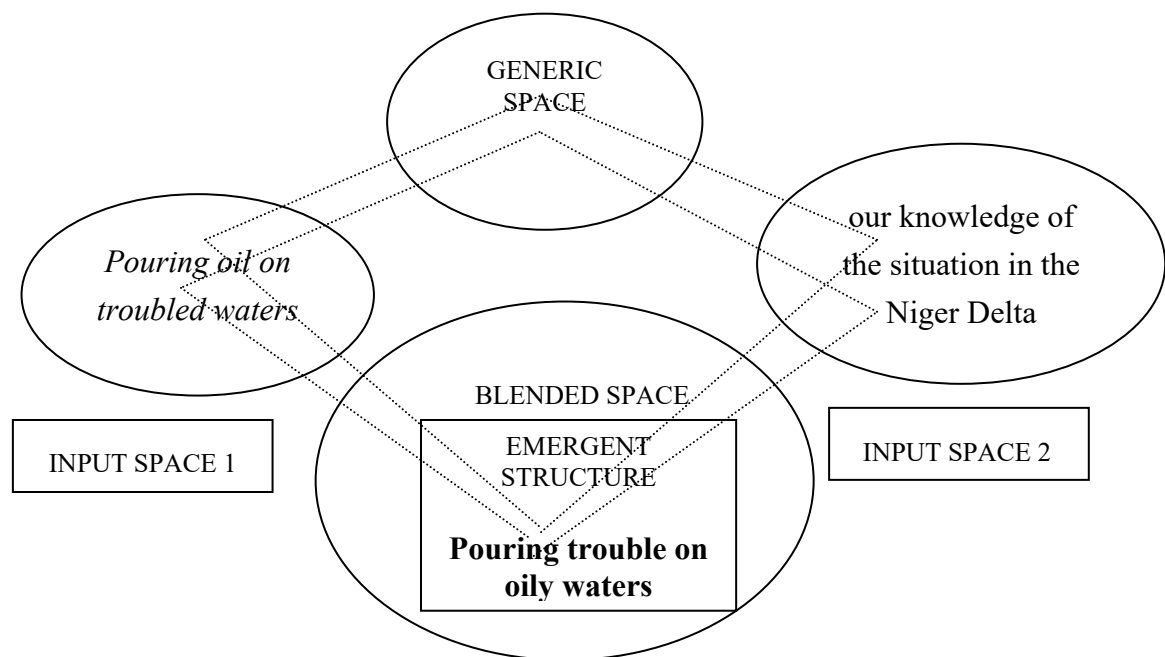


Figure 4. Conceptual integration network for *Pouring trouble on oily waters*.

[Personal elaboration on the basis of a diagram by Fauconnier and Turner, 2002]

A true mixed type of lexical substitution + expansion, as we explained on pages 78-79 in this research, is the one in headline n. 69:

69) **Venezuela. Death in El Dorado**

LA PARAGUA. Gold miners clash with Hugo Chavez's revolution.

(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

The original titles / canonical collocations were *Death on the Nile* -- Agatha Christie's 1937 novel, on which J. Guillermin based his 1978 film, starring P. Ustinov – and *El Dorado* – a 1966 film directed by Howard Hawks, with John Wayne and R. Mitchum. Therefore, we find lexical substitution in *Death on the Nile* and expansion in *El Dorado*.

But for the title, the film has not got much connection with the topic theme in the accompanying news. *El Dorado* is the second of three films directed by Hawks about a sheriff defending his office against belligerent outlaw elements in the town, after *Rio Bravo* (1959) and before *Rio Lobo* (1970), both also starring Wayne. The plotlines of all three films are almost similar enough to consider *El Dorado* and *Rio Lobo* as remakes.

However, excerpts from the poem *Eldorado*, written by Edgar Allan Poe in 1849, are spoken in the movie *El Dorado* by a young James Caan. The poem describes the journey of a 'gallant knight' in search of the legendary El Dorado. This poem reminds us, therefore, of the enduring tale of a city of gold. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Europeans believed that somewhere in the New World there was a place of immense wealth known as El Dorado. Their searches for this treasure wasted countless lives, but this place of immeasurable riches was never found.

According to the accompanying news, the latest victims were six miners allegedly killed the previous month to the publication of the article by Venezuelan soldiers who were enforcing a recent decree by the 'socialist' government of President Hugo Chávez that banned gold mining in the Caroní basin. The miners lived in a small riverport (La Paragua) which is some 200 km

west of the present-day town called El Dorado.

If we apply the basics for Blending Theory explained above, we will realize that the collocation *Death on the Nile* resides in input space one, which provides the framing structure for the blended space. The blended space also receives projections from input space two which embraces our knowledge of the legend of El Dorado and its relationship with a place of great wealth, usually associated with gold (*golden = dorado*). The vital relations are:

- a) Cause-Effect: the lust for gold usually brings death as a consequence;
- b) Analogy: death is the same fatal end, no matter where it happens, ‘on the Nile’ or ‘in El Dorado’. For this reason it is also possible to claim that the two input spaces are connected via the vital relation of Similarity.
- c) Intentionality: there is the intention to show that the death of so many people was not due to natural circumstances, but related to humans’ desire for riches.

These vital relations are exhibited in input space one and compressed in the blended space. Elements in the blend match their counterparts in input spaces. The blend is closely integrated and it can be manipulated as a single unit.

The diagram in *Figure 5* illustrates the conceptual integration network for the modified collocation *Death in El Dorado*. As mentioned, the circles represent mental spaces, the solid lines indicate vital relations, the dotted and dashed lines indicate connections between inputs and generic and blended spaces. Emergent structure within the blended space is represented with the solid square.

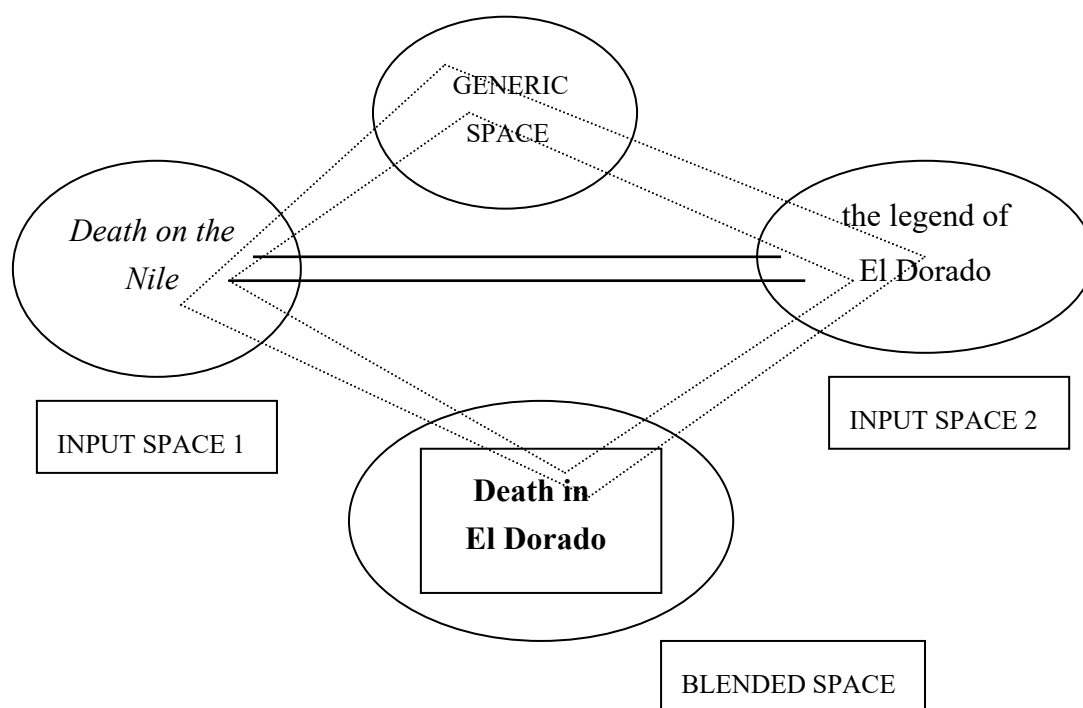


Figure 5. Conceptual integration network for *Death in El Dorado*.

[Personal elaboration on the basis of a diagram by Fauconnier and Turner, 2002]

On page 72 we pointed out a case of abbreviation -- that is, the shortening or deletion of certain elements from the original form, especially if this is long -- in which we only find the first half of the proverb '*with friends like these, who needs enemies?*':

16) **Peru's election. With friends like these**

LIMA. Hugo Chávez's meddling backfires.

(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.52)

We presume here that abbreviations do not appear to be instances of blending. Therefore we cannot use Conceptual Integration Theory to account for this modification. This type of modification cannot be considered as an instance of

blending, because it does not satisfy governing principles. All governing principles must be met in order to claim that a particular example is the occurrence of blending. An abbreviation embraces only one input space and therefore does not satisfy constitutive principles. However, the other side of the coin is the possibility that these abbreviations represent single-scope networks: as Fauconnier and Turner claim that single-scope networks are actually typical examples of conventional source-target metaphors, abbreviations can be viewed as metonymies in which PART stands FOR WHOLE, that is, the part prompts for the whole and, therefore, it would be possible to view abbreviations as single-scope networks.

Therefore, the analysis conducted on our corpus indicates that the modified collocations are compressed versions of the canonical forms and new contexts. They are also well-integrated, manageable language units, which preserve and intensify vital relations. New elements appearing in modified collocations are relevant and, as a result of all this, modified collocations prompt for their own unpacking.

The analysis conducted shows that the Conceptual Integration Theory is equipped with mechanisms that can be used to analyze modified phraseological units in order to provide insights into mechanisms which regulate their creation and cognitive organization. The theory not only provides insight into the way we produce, but it may also give clues about the ways in which we process modified and blended figurative expressions. The Conceptual Integration Theory seems to provide us with the key for unlocking the internal cognitive process of the modifications presented in our case studies.

6.4 Creative language

1. According to Baicchi (2003: 332),

‘The economy principle satisfies both functions of language, cognitive and communicative: cognitive, since it entails a lesser effort of both text production and text reception; and communicative, because it appears to fulfil the Gricean maxim of quantity: “be brief”. But a distinction should be made between linguistic economy and cognitive economy. Whereas linguistic economy refers to every means useful for reducing text quantity (e.g. cataphora, anaphora, ellipsis, pro-forms), cognitive economy refers to the minimum expenditure of mental effort in understanding the linguistic sign’.

With regard to the amount of text in headlines, that is, linguistic economy, we believe we have offered some evidence in table 5, page 83, which prove the tendency in our corpus towards short headlines, mainly within a range from 2 to 4 words being preferred. The longest strings (7 words or more) are found in sub-headings, meant to clarify what may be enigmatic in the headline. This tendency is supported by Dor’s observation (2003: 709) that

‘The shorter headline is simply easier to read’.

This ought to lead, consequently, to effort reduction (cognitive economy) on the part of the reader / listener, as Sinclair argues when referring to the idiom or phraseological principle of language as being the dominant mode of interpreting discourse.

There seem to be, however, a series of drawbacks to these general principles. In our view the following should be mentioned:

a) The type of collocations / headlines in our corpus ‘stand alone’ without explanation or definition: their initial textual position means that, but for the textual dependence they establish, they lack anaphoric reference and are,

therefore, dependent on cataphoric reference for their interpretation with regard to the news item they introduce (Baicchi, 2003, 2004). That is, the relationship between the headline and the ensuing news item is endophoric.

Headlines consequently depend on the reader recognising instantly the field, allusions, issues and cultural references implied. They point forward to their text base for solution and direct the text receiver toward the reading process with the task of seeking the co-referent items and of matching them with the cataphoric co-referents contained in the headline.

Given its lack of immediacy, then, cataphoricity is a non-transparent or opaque device, as it anticipates a partial sign that will be completed in a later moment of the reading process. Transparency implies lesser effort, due to immediate or easy access to the referent. Cataphora, consequently, conflicts with the parameter of communicative economy, which leads to reduction of informational means, and is a further criterion to measure the degree of complexity. According to Baicchi (2003: 332), therefore,

‘...cataphora is an economic means on the level of structure but uneconomic on the cognitive level, as it requires greater expenditure of effort’.

An example that illustrates this point was shown on pages 90-91 in this thesis, when we commented the headline

21) **Political sleaze. Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell. (*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

Another example that suggests a similar situation may be the following:

62) **Germany’s government. Angela’s ashes**

The German chancellor needs to be bolder in pursuing reforms.

(*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.13)

The exophoric reference of this headline takes us to a 1996 memoir book (*Angela's Ashes*) by the Irish author Frank McCourt. The memoir consists of various anecdotes and stories of Frank McCourt's impoverished childhood and early adulthood in Brooklyn, New York, and in Limerick, Ireland. It also includes McCourt's struggles with poverty, his father's drinking, and his hardworking mother's (Angela McCourt) attempts to keep the family alive.

The article this headline tops deals, however, with Angela Merkel's difficulties to run a 'grand coalition' government between her centre-right Christian Democrats and the centre-left Social Democrats. Although at the start of the year things did not seem to go bad, a fractious dispute over health-care reform brought home at the end of the year how hard it is for the two coalition partners to agree on anything. As a consequence, some of Ms Merkel's own party's powerful state premiers seemed quite interested in replacing her given her weak leadership and their bad results in a recent poll.

As we can see, the plot of the book has nothing to do with the content of the article. It is clear, then, that the title of the book was chosen as the headline for a political news item because both female characters share the same name, Angela. A photograph of Ms Merkel attached to the article, together with a reference to the 'German chancellor' in the sub-heading, are the only hints that make the reader identify the protagonist of the article. For the rest of the details one must read the lead.

As to the word 'ashes', according to *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 73), it refers to the remains that are left after a person's body has been burnt in a funeral service. Since this is not the case either in the book or in the article, we believe they must refer to both women's going through difficult situations: in the book Angela McCourt did not lead an easy life to raise her

children; Ms Merkel, for her part, is not going through her best moment, as she is being questioned by her own party.

Therefore, in keeping with Baicchi's point, cataphoric work must first be done before we backtrack anaphorically with our discovery to disentangle the headline.

b) Brône and Coulson (2010) investigated the processing and appreciation of *double grounding* in the construction of headlines. Their study found that double-grounded metaphors were more cognitively demanding than comparable single-grounded metaphors (where there is no such contextual link) and, consequently, longer reading times were required for headlines that employed double-grounded metaphors than for headlines that employed single-grounded metaphors with a similar meaning. However, double-grounded metaphors were rated higher on a wittiness scale than single-grounded ones, thus revealing the aesthetic effect of double-grounding.

Compare, for example, the following instance, which we commented on page 114 in this research:

33) **African poverty. The magnificent seven**

SAURI, KENYA. How a few simple reforms can lift African villages out of poverty. (*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.47)

where seven gunfighters are identified with seven simple reforms within the UN's Millennium Project for their good results.

Compare this, then, with an example of double-grounding discussed on page 121:

86) **Weather risk. Come rain or come shine**

Hedge funds find a new way to profit by taking on the weather gods. (*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.78)

in which a 1946 song by H. Arlen and J. Mercer that suits the semantic field of climate and weather is the frame for an economic news item about how hedge funds favour three sorts of instruments linked to the changeable climate (weather derivatives, catastrophe bonds and sidecars). As we can see, the poetic or aesthetic effect is much more powerful in this case than in the previous one.

c) The use of cognitive devices like irony may lead necessarily to a certain complexity in the transmission of messages and, consequently, to a lesser degree of cognitive economy, due to its lack of transparency.

Irony may involve a certain degree of pragmatic insincerity (Kumon-Nakamura *et al.*, 1995) on the part of the speaker / writer, that is, ironic utterances may actually be true at some level, yet the words are not meant in the way that they would normally be interpreted. Irony does not simply invert our apparent meaning, rather it mitigates this superficial meaning so that the speaker's intention is recognised as a selective, contextually understood blend of what is said and its negative inversion. Irony also often uses pragmatic insincerity to couch a rebuke in a form that is conventionally, and sometimes conveniently, taken as a compliment.

However, though it seems roundabout and wastefully indirect at first glance, irony actually allows us to achieve remarkable concision and power with words. For, we squeeze two levels of meaning into an ironic utterance: an allusion to an expectation and its subsequent dashing of this expectation. The conventional mapping of words to meanings is, therefore, by means of irony, not to be trusted (Veale, 2012: 115-116), thus adding in cognitive effort.

We saw a good example of this on page 148 in this work, when we commented the headline

60) **Japan. The A team**

TOKYO. A new prime minister picks his cabinet.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.66)

referring to the recently appointed Prime Minister's (Shinzo Abe) cabinet in Japan: a new Japanese 'A Team' was ready 'to get into action'.

2. It is legitimate to ask, therefore, why writers use this type of headlines at all.

Jaki (2014: 2) suggests that modifications -- as well as their canonical forms -- can be found in an abundant number of social and communicative contexts in various types of media and verbal communication, for instance in newspapers, advertisements, TV shows, song texts, prose, poems, or private communication. This interest may also be due to the widespread fascination with creative thinking. However, it is particularly in phraseology that creativity seems, at first glance, to be a paradox, since these prefabricated chunks are used quite automatically in our speech production.

According to Veale (2012: 26),

'Variation of a familiar form has long been a useful strategy for producing clever but understandable novelty'.

In essence, a linguistic variation is creative if it exploits knowledge of words (or phrases) and their meanings to facilitate additional meaning and resonance into a tired form. Both the listener / reader and the speaker / writer must be party to the variation, for one must have the knowledge to know that the other intended (or can recover) the additional layer of meaning that is communicated. However, to be considered clever, the effect on this additional meaning should be disproportionately larger than the effort needed to communicate it (Veale, 2012:

26), that is, it should be relevant in Sperber and Wilson's terms.

Hanks (1994, 2004) describes variations of a familiar form as '*exploitations of a recognizable norm*'. In his *Theory of Norms and Exploitations* (TNE), Hanks outlines how a great many creative acts in language, including metaphors, can be understood as a **controlled departure from a linguistic norm**, that is, the speaker not only exploits the norm – in our case, an original collocation / title -- as a vehicle for a new meaning, but also exploits the listener's knowledge of this norm, as well as the listener's ability to reconstruct the speaker's newly-minted meaning. For Hanks, *exploitation* is a means of revitalizing **tired language**, of extending the meanings of familiar words and phrases to accommodate new but related situations.

Hanks' (1994, 2004) *Theory of Norms and Exploitations* (TNE) had its genesis in a marriage between lexicography and corpus linguistics. It proposes a new approach to analysis of language in use, in which the word (rather than the syntactic structure) plays a central role as theoretical entity. The general idea behind the theory is a straightforward one: it postulates that people make meanings both by adhering to and by exploiting the normal patterns of usage in their language. TNE proposes that, in natural languages, a set of rules governing the normal, conventional use of words is intertwined with a second-order set of rules governing the ways in which those norms are exploited.

Human beings store in their brains not just words in isolation, but also sets of stereotypical syntagmatic patterns associated with each word. These patterns are part of the everyday experience of ordinary users of a language from birth. It is entirely possible that the prototypes of belief associated with each word are structured differently in the head of each member of a language community, but social pressures are such that gross differences in the use of the words concerned are constantly eliminated in the course of first-language acquisition by each individual member of a speech community. As a result, linguistic behaviour

among users of a language is highly stereotypical. As an example of this, he offers stereotypical phrases like *a storm of protest* and *a torrent of abuse*. These patterns can best be described in terms of prototypes or stereotypes, with rules for exploiting them.

TNE seeks to map actual linguistic behaviour (words in use) onto meanings (beliefs associated with words and phrases). It does this, in part, by invoking prototype theory to account for the uses of words. Use is measured by analysis of large electronic corpora. Some uses of words are stereotypical; others exploit stereotypes, typically for rhetorical effect. Stereotypes of words in use require an account of the combinations in which each word normally participates (a lexicographic task). Exploitations require an account of the rules governing metaphor, metonymy, ellipsis, and other rhetorical devices.

What is new in TNE in comparison with previous theories that relied on introspection as a research technique is that, using the corpus evidence that is now available, corpus-driven lexicographers are in a position to observe and analyse the patterns surrounding the words that people experience and use. Each syntagmatic pattern is associated with a *meaning potential* -- the potential of a word or phrase to contribute appropriately in a given context to the meaningfulness of an actual utterance.

The term *meaning potential* was used by Halliday (1971) to denote the potential of individuals to make appropriate utterances in given social situations. In the Theory of Norms and Exploitations the term has, therefore, a different, though related meaning.

By attaching meaning potentials to patterns rather than words, the uncertainty of meanings associated with any given word can greatly be reduced. This can be applied as a general principle to meaning statements about any verb, adjective, or noun. In other words, the norms of a language can be identified by corpus pattern

analysis, which identifies syntagmatic patterns that are associated with different meaning potentials.

The theoretical position is also that there are no literal meanings, that is, the notion of the *normal use* of a word replaces the notion of the *literal meaning* of a lexical item, although there is clearly a relationship between the two. The claim made by TNE is that in the vast majority of cases one meaning of a word can be distinguished from other meanings of the same word by the local context. In a few cases, however, other clues are needed, in particular the domain of the discourse.

This is especially true in our corpus (The Economist Corpus): as we have seen, the context of use, rather than any formal characteristic of the variation, is the final arbiter of what is actually meant. Indeed, some creative variations on a familiar phrase make no change at all to the original or canonical wording.

TNE suggests that norms for nouns are different in kind from norms for verbs. Norms for verbs are expressed mainly in terms of valencies (clause roles) or argument structures, whereas norms for nouns focus instead on statistically significant collocations.

Any uses of a word that do not fit a norm are either alternations or exploitations. Alternations are unremarkable cases of regular polysemy (Apresjan, 1974). Exploitations include many different kinds of rhetorical device, including, for example, metonymy, ellipsis and metaphor. Metaphors are typical exploitations: for example, in literal contexts, *storm* denotes a kind of atmospheric phenomenon; *torrent*, *mountain*, *lake*, and *oasis* denote kinds of geographical locations. But all these words have regular secondary patterns of use which (unlike other kinds of secondary meaning), can be usefully classed as metaphorical: *a storm of protest*, *a torrent of abuse*, *a mountain of paperwork*, *a lake of blood*, *an oasis of sanity* are conventional metaphorical patterns, which can be recognized in corpora and

contrasted with other uses of these words that are not metaphorical (Hanks, 1994, 2004).

The whole picture is further complicated by the necessary introduction of a diachronic perspective. Whether we know it or not, the language we use today is dependent on and shaped by the language of past generations. Most exploitations of norms are lost as soon as uttered, but every now and again one of them catches on and becomes established as a new secondary norm in its own right (Hanks, 1994, 2004). In this sense Veale (2012: 78), for example, when talking about similes, points out that even in the twenty-first century, our comparisons involve many or the same stereotypes that would have been used in Dickens' time. This observation asserts the cultural nature of stereotypes, which are meant to be shared and inherited by the speakers of a language. They constitute a key part of what Dickens called *'the wisdom of our ancestors'*, which may go some way toward explaining why, in the twenty-first century, we still find it useful to compare people to peacocks, wolves, lions and eagles.

The power of a stereotype lies in its ability to simplify the world, allowing us to focus on the salient features of an entity that have already proved their inferential worth many times over. They capture knowledge that, on deeper reflection, can appear simplistic, exaggerated or just plain wrong. Nonetheless, this knowledge is an essential part of good communication, as they provide complementary perspectives on our psychological tendencies toward simplification and idealization (Veale, 2012: 71).

Therefore,

'An inventive turn of phrase can lend colour and intensity to the monochrome conventionality of everyday language [...] by placing words in surprising combinations and novel contexts to convey more resonant images than conventional language alone can muster. Yet, [...] a mastery

of creative sense-making requires, first and foremost, a mastery of everyday language, with all its conventions and hackneyed turns of phrase' (Veale, 2012: 15)

For Giora (2003, 2004), we do this primarily because **we find it pleasurable to be stimulated by novelty and variety**. Familiarity can certainly breed contempt for the over-used words and phrases whose habitual meanings encourage lazy and boring language use. But an exploitation can inject new life into an old expression, and make us think again about the relationship between words and their meanings. Besides, innovative exploitations allow us to put our own stamp on language, and in a way to influence its daily development.

Experience shapes our expectations of the world. When faced with a familiar stimulus, the associations that come most rapidly to mind are generally those that have proved most salient to the interpretation of similar stimuli in the past. Simple variations on a familiar phrase are easily understood in terms of the more familiar meaning, or the '*more salient response*' in Giora's words.

For about two decades, cognitive psychologists (e.g., Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs and Gerrig, 1989; Glucksberg, 1989, among others) and linguists (e.g., Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995) had maintained that understanding literal and nonliteral language required equivalent processes (the *processing-equivalence hypothesis*). They argued against traditional theorists (e.g., Grice, 1975; Searle, 1979) who assumed that understanding nonliteral language required a sequential, multiple-stage process, involving first a literal interpretation that was then revisited. Giora (1997) proposed an alternative approach to both views. According to Giora, it is meaning salience (rather than either literal or nonliteral meaning) that determines the type of processing invoked. The meaning of a linguistic expression is considered salient in case its interpretation can be directly computed from the lexical meanings automatically associated with entries before any extra inferences based on contextual assumptions have been derived.

Giora's *Graded Salience Hypothesis* (1997, 1999, 2003) proposes that comprehension involves two distinct mechanisms – lexical (e.g., degree of meaning salience) and contextual – that run parallel without interacting initially (as proposed by Fodor, 1983). The mechanism responsible for lexical access is sensitive only to lexical information. It is modular, exhaustive, and ordered so that **salient meanings – coded meanings foremost on our mind** due to familiarity, conventionality, frequency or prototypicality – are activated or processed faster than less-salient ones, coded but lower on these dimensions. Thus, for example, when the most salient meaning is intended (as in, e.g., the figurative meaning of conventional idioms), it is accessed directly, without having to process the less salient (literal) meaning first (Gibbs, 1980). However, when a less rather than a more salient meaning is intended (e.g., the metaphoric meaning of novel metaphors, the literal meaning of conventional idioms, or a novel interpretation of a highly conventional literal expression) comprehension seems to involve a sequential process, upon which the more salient meaning is processed initially, before the intended meaning is derived (Blasko and Connine, 1993; Gerrig, 1989; Gibbs, 1980; Gregory and Mergler, 1990). Parallel processing is induced when more than one meaning is salient. For instance, conventional metaphors whose metaphoric and literal meanings are equally salient, are processed initially both literally and metaphorically (Blasko and Connine, 1993).

Therefore, as mentioned, the salience of a word or an utterance is a function of its conventionality (e.g., Gibbs, 1980), familiarity (e.g., Blasko and Connine, 1993), frequency (e.g., Neill, Hilliard and Cooper, 1988), or givenness status in a certain (linguistic and nonlinguistic) context. Though an elaborated treatment of each component must await research, the notion of conventional meaning requires some attention. Conventional meaning is taken as the semantics of the sentence, i.e., its logical form representation. This meaning is directly computed from the lexical meanings automatically associated with entries before any extra

inferences based on contextual assumptions have been derived. Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994: 492) view conventionality as

‘a relation among a linguistic regularity, a situation of use, and a population that has implicitly agreed to conform to that regularity in that situation out of preference for general uniformity, rather than because there is some obvious and compelling reason to conform to that regularity instead of some other’.

The salience of conventional meanings, however, may be affected by, e.g., context. Thus, if a word has two meanings that can be retrieved directly from the lexicon, the meaning more popular, or more prototypical, or more frequently used in a certain community is more salient. Or, the meaning an individual is more familiar with, or has learned recently is the more salient. Or, the meaning activated by previous context, or made predictable by previous context is the more salient one (Giora, 1997: 185).

While lexical access is impervious to context effects, contextual information can independently and immediately affect comprehension via inferential or predictive processes which do not penetrate lexical processes but run parallel. Indeed, under certain conditions, this expectation-driven mechanism may predict the contextually appropriate meaning of an upcoming ambiguous word very early on, even before the relevant stimulus is encountered. Thus, according to this parallel processing view, contextual processes may be faster than, coincidental with, or slower than lexical processes. They cannot, however, inhibit salient meanings activated automatically by the lexical mechanism responding to the relevant stimulus.

The Graded Salience Hypothesis thus makes two suggestions with regard to the effects of salience and context on lexical ambiguity resolution. First, that contextually appropriate meanings may be activated immediately via predictive

processes on the basis of information provided prior to the ambiguous word in question. Second, that when ambiguous words are encountered, salient meanings will always be activated, even when prior context strongly favours the less-salient meaning.

Salience, however, is not an all-or-nothing distinction. Rather, it admits gradations or degrees (Giora and Fein, 1999: 242). The mental associations that one can bring to bear on the interpretation of a familiar stimulus will thus occupy different positions along a salience gradient, with those that appear most salient (such as those associated with words in our mental lexicons) being activated first, to exercise the greatest influence, initially at least, on the interpretative process.

The existence of a salience gradient provides, on the other hand, ample opportunity for a creative speaker / writer to manipulate the expectations of an audience, especially where **familiar forms** are concerned. It also allows a creative writer to exploit a gap between the highly predictable associations of an audience and the far less predictable associations that are required to understand the writer's own perspective, which may be wittily incongruous.

Ifantidou (2009: 717) points out that

'...readers wish headlines to address 'familiar' topics which relate to their 'background knowledge' and to their 'interests' in specific domains, albeit not necessarily by means of fully-informative headlines'.

In this research we believe we have demonstrated that *'familiar topics'* imply as well the use in headlines of collocations resembling the titles of books, films, TV series and songs well-known by the audience. The evidence presented in this thesis amply justifies this claim: among others, we find the following examples in our corpus:

11) **Gloom in France. The unbearable lightness of being overtaken**

PARIS. The French are losing the consolation of doing better than the Germans. (*The Economist*, February 4th 2006, p.25)

[Original collocation: *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, M. Kundera's 1984 novel]

31) a) **Chad. The French connection**

Chad's president clings to power, with the help of some powerful friends. (*The Economist*, April 22nd 2006, p.42)

[Original collocation: *The French connection*, Wm. Friedkin's 1971 film]

61) **Japan. The A team**

TOKYO. A new prime minister picks his cabinet.
(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.66)

55) a) **Russian energy. Yukos revisited?**

Russia must stop strong-arming foreign investors.
(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.11)

[Original collocations: *The A team* and *Brideshead Revisited*, both of them TV series]

52) **Japan's basic industries. Under pressure**

TOKYO. An outbreak of mergers and takeovers could be looming in Japan. (*The Economist*, September 9th 2006, p.61)

[Original collocation: *Under pressure*, Queen's 1981 song]

The salience gradient would also explain, in our opinion, especially in the case of ‘creative’ or ‘non-informative’ headlines, where figurative language or underdetermined linguistic meaning purposely leaves room for a variety of interpretations, that headlines seem to be effective even if the retrieved interpretation is not the one developed in the full story-article, as Ifantidou suggests (2009: 716). Thus Dor’s observation (2003: 696-697, 718, 720) that

‘Many skilled readers spend most of their reading time scanning the headlines rather than reading the stories’.

Baicchi (2003: 328) makes a clear distinction between *effective* / *efficient*. According to her, the search for a link between a cataphoric item (that is, a title) and its co-referent is a problem-solving activity, based on subsequent steps of text processing, which is carried on until the postcedent occurs. This is easily observable, for example, when cataphoric pronouns are employed in the headline and continue to appear until the very end of the text base. The use of such empty pronouns, which are uneconomic triggers of meaning, is strategic and satisfies the need for creating expectations and suspense. As in

3 c) **Michelle Bachelet. Doing it her way**

SANTIAGO. Chile’s new president promises continuity and change.
(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.50)

where the pronouns *her* and *she* refer to Ms Bachelet throughout the whole news item. Or in

13) **Face Value. Time of his life**

Carl Icahn expects to have the last laugh in his battle to break up Time Warner. (*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.66)

where the pronouns *he* and *his* may equally refer to Mr Icahn (the ‘corporate raider’) or to Mr Parsons (the boss of Time Warner), the two protagonists in the

related article.

Then, the cataphoric title relies on and triggers text effectiveness rather than efficiency. Effectiveness entails a deeper degree of elaboration, that is, a higher degree of attention and independent access to the material that does not appear explicitly in the surface configuration of the text. Cataphoric relations seem to be uneconomic and non efficient because they require greater processing effort on the part of the interpreter, who has to leave an empty slot in his/her memory and look for clues to fill it with content. If this textual device is not efficient, it may, by contrast, be very **effective in making the text interesting**. It will stimulate the receiver's attention and curiosity and create expectations and suspense, although, of course, demanding much in terms of processing costs, which is exactly the case of titles / headlines.

Bruti (2003: 291) agrees with Baicchi's point of view:

'[...] the fact that it [cataphora] arouses the receiver's interest can make up for the cognitive gap it creates and the interpretative effort it requires'.

3. The reasons why we make the additional effort that is needed to produce such modifications, or simply use their canonical collocations (literalisation) as readymades (Veale, 2012), in this type of headlines are, therefore, numerous. So far, we believe we have demonstrated that, as we had suspected when initiating this research, this type of headlines are stylistically marked language, consequently, they may function first of all to attract the reader's attention, that is, the role of headlines as attention-getting devices rather than as information-providing tools seems to be confirmed. As White (2011: 98) puts it,

'...the criteria that a headline must attract the reader is indispensable and [...] those same linguistic devices play a major role in bringing about such

attraction'.

They work as attention catchers **by re-using familiar phrases**. In this sense Blazkova (2012: 317) states that

'Rather than being an interesting deviation, the appropriation of semiotic resources, [...], is normal and normative; it enables communication in new communities of practice and novel genres, [...], and ultimately facilitates the emergence of a distinct group identity'.

According to Lennon (2004: 22),

'...allusion is not a literary "tour de force" but a fact of everyday communication by means of which that which is new is related to that which is already known'.

A proof of this is suggested by Wray (2002), who argues that much ordinary communication consists of familiar, conventional phrases and sentences and that, when uttering and understanding these, speakers and writers do not normally analyse them syntactically. Instead, they utter and understand the phrases (and even sentences) as a whole -- ready-made, as it were. Wray shows that such ready-made phrases are far more common and widespread than was previously believed, and that, although they are formulaic, they are not 'fixed'. Operating on a 'slot-and-filler' basis (replacing one word or phrase in a formula with another), language users can and do vary their stock of formulas to meet different requirements without necessarily building up utterances from first principles. People resort to syntactic analysis occasionally, but, according to Wray, on the basis of 'needs-only analysis'. When we want to say something entirely new, or when we hear or read a puzzling or complex sentence, we have the ability to analyse it syntactically. But the fact that we can do this does not entail that we do it on all occasions. Life is too short and conversation is too quick and (mostly)

too trivial to merit or need fundamental syntactic analysis, except in unusual circumstances.

Veale (2012: 148) also agrees that

‘Rather than express our own meanings in our own words, these pre-built forms [clichés and quotations] allow us to reuse a combination of words and meanings that [...] a legion of better writers have already built for us. Reference books are full of the things, and when reading the original texts, we sometimes memorize our own favourite lines for later use’.

As he (2012: 134) says, our heads are full of half-remembered slogans, jingles, catchphrases, punchlines, lyrics, movie quotes and snatches of poetry. Jackendoff (1995) had already suggested that native speakers of English may have as many as 80,000 fixed expressions stored in memory, if one includes, in order of relative frequency, compounds, idioms, names, clichés, literary and other titles, quotations and foreign phrases.

Therefore, these variations on familiar forms get their real inspiration not from interesting original phrases, but from someone else’s exploitation of those phrases. In this sense Sternberg and Lubart’s (1995, 1996) *Investment Theory of Creativity* views every creative act as a conscious decision to thriftily exploit undervalued or unconventional ideas, in a way that can generate unexpected value in a new context. As Sternberg (2003: 106) puts it,

‘...creative people decide to buy low and sell high in the world of ideas – that is, they generate ideas that tend to “defy the crowd” (buy low), and then, when they have persuaded many people, they sell high, meaning they move on to the next unpopular idea’.

Sternberg and Lubart’s (1995, 1996) *Investment Theory of Creativity* views creative individuals as *up-sellers*. In language, up-sellers create added value by

injecting novelty and freshness into conventional phrasing. Up-selling is efficient and creative whenever a variation yields a large improvement from a modest investment of effort. Up-selling typically occurs when a simple substitution or modification in a well-known expression evokes both the conventional meaning of the form and yields an additional meaning besides, the producer's 'return on investment'. That is, in linguistic creativity an unexpected meaning is emphasized from the lower reaches of the salience gradient. This return on investment is achieved through what Hanks calls an *exploitation* and what Giora calls *optimal innovation*.

In practice a phrase that is both concise and dense with evocative imagery, that is, that has some descriptive utility that might make it useful in some other, perhaps incongruous, context; that phrase would earn its readymade status, in a creative sense, whenever the new purpose it is retrieved to serve differs from that for which it was originally crafted. Or, in other words,

'... preconstructed forms with a context-transcending elegance, they mean what our new context takes them to mean, and not what they were first made for' (Veale, 2012: 151).

In the case of journalists, since they are working in a jargon-rich domain which may seduce them to lazy tropes, especially those that come in a convenient 'kit form', this may lead them to situations in which they may often try to wring as much value from a productive strategy as they possibly can, even at the risk of repeating themselves, thus Borau's (2009: 65) quotation on page 103 in this work. This would ultimately explain the appearance of all the variations of canonical forms / collocations accounted for in this thesis.

Additionally **the presence of our collocations may also sometimes contribute to the meaning of the actual headline**, as we saw on pages 165-167 when we commented on

74) **Global health. Less Mary Poppins**

The World Health Organization needs to help sick people, not be a nanny. (*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.13)

This headline functions firstly to attract the reader's attention by re-using a familiar phrase. The reader who recalls that the phrase is the title of a famous film will be prompted to reinterpret the semantics of the quotation to suit its new context. Here the slight information added in the headline carries a great deal of contextual effects: the story in the news item is not about the role of the agency as a vigilant watchman of global health, but a serious criticism on what the World Health Organization (WHO) should and should not do and even on its 'incompetence'.

So using an allusive collocation as the headline for a political news item may also serve as a vehicle for **indirect criticism or ridicule** by means of grotesque implicit comparison, as we have seen in the example above: for instance, it stresses feelings of contempt for the WHO for getting involved in questions considered not proper of a UN agency, images of low status and prestige when identifying it with a nanny, a wish for a change in this situation ('less Mary Poppins') and so on and so forth.

Allusive collocations also contribute **affective meaning** since the implied comparison with the original collocation is humorously incongruous. The example mentioned above illustrates the way in which allusions may, on the other hand, ease the cognitive processing load for the reader, because the well-known quotation is quickly recognised, and, on the other hand, present a cognitive challenge for the reader, who has to reinterpret the meaning of the quotation in its new context. In allusive headlines, as in the example above, this involves reading on. In other cases it may involve retracing and reflecting.

Recognising and interpreting allusive collocations also implies a measure of

aesthetic pleasure (Lennon, 2011: 91). It is important for writers to impart aesthetic pleasure to their readers. This is one way of establishing rapport with the reader. Not only is stylistic embellishment involved, but, more importantly, the writer is given the chance to display wit and linguistic ingenuity. In this way common ground can be established with the reader against the background of shared cultural knowledge. The comic effects of incongruity may function to achieve a certain bond between reader and writer.

Often multiple functions of a given allusion / collocation can be identified, some major and some minor. The weightings of these different functions may vary for different readers according to how fully they understand the allusion (Lennon, 2011: 91-92).

Thus, processing cost is rewarded by substantial communicative benefit.

6.5 Literary journalism

Are we to understand, then, that journalists build up this type of headlines by mere chance, personal decision or editorial style? Perhaps. But this tendency may be better understood if we try to place it as part of a current trend on journalism called *literary journalism*. According to the IALJS's (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies) Newsletter (WINTER 2015, vol. 9, n. 1, p. 6) -- <https://vault.northwestern.edu/~davida/WWW/IALJS/index.html> (retrieved on 23rd January 2015) --, a definition of *literary journalism* is

“journalism as literature” rather than “journalism about literature”.

In other words, a genre of non-fiction prose that lies at the conceptual intersection of literature and journalism. In short, the journalist applies the literary devices of fiction to an actual subject primarily to provide emotional and/or dramatic impact. Thus, by frequently making use of literary techniques and conventions such as satire, irony, metaphor, wit and understatement, that is, the poetic aspects of language, to make their points and to report often on unpolitically-correct social and political criticism, each of these journalists and their columns and sketches have sparked a realistic literary journalistic tradition that has lasted for longer than a century and well into the 21st century. Literary journalism, therefore, has made use of subtle ambiguities and complexities of a journalism that is indeed literary (IALJS's Newsletter, 2015).

Literary journalism is several hundred years old. Indeed, in the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s some writers were producing what could be considered literary journalism, among them Joseph Addison, Daniel Defoe, Richard Steele, and Edward 'Ned' Ward in the 1700s; Charles Dickens, William Hazlitt, Lafcadio Hearn, Francis Parkman, Julian Ralph, and Mark Twain in the 1800s. In the 1900s we find:

- Jack London writing about poverty, tramping, and Alaska,

- John Reed writing about wars in Mexico and eastern Europe, and revolution in Russia,
- Ernest Hemingway, Reed, and John Dos Passos writing from Europe about World War I and its aftermath,
- James Agee, Edmund Wilson, Martha Gellhorn, and George Orwell writing about the Great Depression and war in Europe,
- John Hersey on Hiroshima,
- Joseph Mitchell, A. J. Liebling, and Lillian Ross creating cultural portraits in the *New Yorker*,
- Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, Truman Capote, Hunter S. Thompson, Michael Herr, and Joan Didion writing experimental narratives during the turbulent 1960s;
- Tracy Kidder, Susan Orlean, John McPhee, Jane Kramer, Ted Conover, Michael Paterniti, Frances Fitzgerald, Jonathan Harr, Doug Whynott, Adrian Nicole LeBlanc, and many others who have created portraits of everyday life and of cultural communities in recent years.

Applegate (1996) suggests that it was during the troubled 1960s and 1970s that what has become known as new journalism – an umbrella term that includes several forms of journalism, among which literary journalism has been discussed perhaps more than any of the others -- filled newspapers and magazines. Its popularity grew as more journalists and novelists discovered the forms; as a result, a furore arose among practicing professionals. Articles critical of new journalism began to appear in numerous journals, some even written by so-called new journalists. As the furore subsided some journalists continued to practice new journalism, while others turned to the novel.

Among the reasons why new journalism became so prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, Hellman (1981: 2) claims that reporters were

‘saddled with rules and formulas that made it impossible for them to deal

adequately with their subjects'

and consequently revolted against the '*inverted pyramid*', one of the characteristics of conventional journalism. Eason (1982: 145) explains this as follows:

'objectivity means customary linguistic usage, structuring information in a rigid pattern sometimes referred to as the "inverted pyramid", supplying brief clear answers to the questions Who?, What?, Where?, When?, and Why?, using quotations as evidence, and presenting conflicting points of view'.

As a result, certain old journalistic forms, especially literary ones, were inevitably called new. However, new journalism of the 1960s and 1970s was not new. The old literary form was appropriately modified primarily to give emotional impact to the story.

Besides a major difference that concerns style, language, and form, literary journalism is characteristically and analytically different from traditional journalism in that, in essence, the reporter becomes involved in what he reports; the writing becomes personalized, subjective. By revealing biases, the 'new' journalist strives for a higher kind of 'objectivity'. As Hollowell (1977: 22) says,

'The most important difference ... is the writer's changed relationship to the people and events he depicts'.

Literary journalism, with its political moral, has had, therefore, a long tradition and many of its most prominent practitioners have excelled in other spheres that have brought greater notice or praise. In more modern times, John Banville, for example, a Booker Prize winner in 2005, was earlier employed as a sub-editor on the now-defunct *Irish Press* daily newspaper.

The experimental journalism that has come to define literary journalism promoted the idea of truth and critical thinking through journalistic work, an ironic attitude toward reality which allowed journalists to criticize without being offensive. Literary journalism is seen, then, as a form of political and social critique and considers the media may provide both a mode of expression and a wide audience for ideas that are literary in style but not necessarily about literature. **We believe this would include business and political matters and the headlines in our corpus, The Economist Corpus.**

7 Conclusions

Our research has focused on the form and function of a certain type of collocations, namely, what we have been calling ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations (Lewis, 2000: 133), that resemble the titles of books, TV series, films and pieces of music. These are used in *The Economist* as headlines topping business and/or political news, but they show apparently no content relationship with them. We have also examined the prosodic, syntactic and semantic patterns used in crafting this type of allusive headlines.

As Sinclair (1987: 320) argues,

‘The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments. To some extent, this may reflect the recurrence of similar situations in human affairs; it may illustrate a natural tendency to economy of effort or it may be motivated in part by the exigencies of real-time speech’.

Predictability is, therefore, an important element of collocations, but it varies from being total or near-total, and recognized as such by all speakers, to being only partial and recognized by some speakers but not by others. At the total predictability end of this spectrum each collocation has a given form which the language user has to accept if he is to use it; but at the other end a creative or productive element comes into play, all the time conditioned by the selectional restrictions that are defining factors of collocations. In other words, anyone who can be said to be proficient in a language has command of a great number of set phrases as well as skill in producing acceptable variants within the limits drawn up by the selectional rules.

Therefore, if as speakers of a language we thus very largely make use of chunks

of prefabricated matter that allow us to move swiftly through the discourse and to communicate more efficiently, and if as listeners we expect other speakers to behave in the same way, this implies that anyone who happens to manipulate this mechanism of language will create something of a surprise effect with a definite end in view, as relatively stable collocations are modified so as to include other elements than those which normally make up the collocations, or to substitute unexpected for expected elements. In other words, regarded by different authors as variations or deviations from the canonical form, these are more than simply ‘alternative renderings’ of the ‘same’ basic expression, as their existence fills a semantic and pragmatic need – that of personalising and making one’s language use relevant to the situation in which it is uttered.

This principle clearly applies, from our point of view, to *The Economist*: we have shown in our corpus and its analysis that headlines containing ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations behave like eye-catchers that use memory retrieval and association of ideas as a popular intellectual game. Since this magazine appeals to an international, educated, often dynamic readership, their literary knowledge and their familiarity with the titles of books, films and musical pieces quoted in the headlines is taken for granted. If the expression is well known, then part of it may be left out or changed, as also happens with proverbs and sayings, thus all the variations accounted for in this research.

At the same time, some words and expressions are presumably chosen, usually from a book, a film or television, even from songs, perhaps as the best and most appropriate ways of expressing certain ideas, and some patterns look more successful than others – bear in mind, for example, all the instances of variations of *A Tale of Two Cities* found:

8 a), d) A tale of two prime ministers

b) ... two ministers (sub-heading)

c) ... two Frances

e) ... two presidents (sub-heading)

- f) ... two retailers
- g) ... two Slavic states,

although this does not mean that they are the only possible selections, either.

Also referred to by Lennon (2011) as *punning echoic allusions*, their form is that of cryptic quotation, that is, typically, a short phrase from a well-known source text is incorporated into the text *in praesentia*, either verbatim (without any changes regarding the original one) or, more usually, deliberately manipulated so as to achieve maximum semantic contrast with the original at the expense of minimal formal change in the manner of a pun. The distance between the contexts of the source *in absentia* and the unfolding text *in praesentia* makes for strong contrasts in terms of pragmatic meaning at the sentence level. This in turn results in interplay in meaning between the two different meanings in their two different contexts, so that the allusion may contribute to the meaning of the unfolding text in important ways.

However, using the type of collocations / allusive headlines under study also functions at the language processing level and at the socio-affective level. They both ease processing loads for readers / listeners by providing familiar language chunks while simultaneously presenting a cognitive challenge to the reader who has to solve the riddle of the allusion. In this way the responsibility for meaning construction is transferred to the reader. That is, the active participation of an audience in elaborating a highly compressed meaning can turn a listener from a passive recipient into an active constructor of meaning.

The writer – in our case, the journalist --, for his/her part, is challenged to so engineer the allusion that the reader will both recognise it and understand it in the way intended. This in turn requires that the writer correctly estimates not only the reader's linguistic, but also his/her cultural knowledge. It is necessary that reader and writer understand each other at each move in the ludic process. In this way allusions also contribute to a certain bonding between reader and writer. In this

connection, they are an important means of bringing not only humour, but also censure, into texts and of expressing certain attitudes indirectly which it might be inappropriate to express directly.

The research reported in this study reveals, on the other hand, how a corpus-based analysis within the general context of Cognitive Linguistics can throw light on the nature and extent of a certain type of collocations that, though a minuscule part, however, has not been much studied. We hope to have proved and answered the main questions that gave rise to this investigation. In connection with each of the aims of the study our **conclusions** may be summarised as follows:

a) from the **quantitative** data reported, we have shown that the foregoing press collocations / headlines are intuitively felt to be a typical journalistic strategy and the evidence presented in this thesis supports this intuitive view. We have found that

(i) journalists prefer to build up a headline for a business or political news item by means of three favourite processes:

- 1) literalisation, that is, verbatim replica of the original titles /collocations, without any modifications at all (32.8 % of cases).
- 2) Syntactic replica with lexical substitution on a slot-and-filler basis (42.18 %). Often the syllabic rhythm and stress patterns of the original are maintained. Sometimes the substituted item is phonologically similar to the replaced lexical item.
- 3) Expansion of the original collocation (17.96%), mainly in order to bring it closer to the content context of the ensuing news item or simply to add more semantic information to the canonical form.

(ii) In the sample as a whole, quotations alluded to were most likely to be from TV and film titles (30.9%), followed by allusions from literary sources (29.3%) and song titles (14.6%). These results show a correspondence with the mixed-

type headlines alluding to both literary sources and films, which were also quite common (21.1%), perhaps due to the fact that the film industry has always looked for inspiration in literature.

(iii) We have proved a tendency towards short headlines, mainly within a range from 2 to 4 words being preferred (72.8% of cases). The longest strings (7 words or more) are found in sub-headings, meant to clarify what may be enigmatic in the headline. This was shown to lead to a sort of telegram-like style that produced a very strong concentration effect.

(iv) Related to this, although a wide variety of syntactic units may be used to establish an allusion, there is a strong preference for the noun phrase (64.2%), followed by prepositional phrases (17.1%). Single words are never used for establishing allusions. There are two possible explanations for this:

- a) the noun phrase is a favourite pattern for media journalists,
- b) the ‘economical’ syntax that is typical of journalistic language leads to maximum semantic condensation in headlines, in which certain syntactic items are omitted.

(v) We have shown there is ‘motivation’ for the use of this type of collocations in headlines regarding three main aspects:

- a) motivation arising from the textual dependence between the collocations we are concerned with and the texts identified as their sources: there is a constant interplay between creativity and previous writing, a relationship which is particularly significant in the context of the foregoing news headlines, as one can only add new forms to well-established contents.
- b) motivation between the headline – or sometimes the sub-heading – containing our collocations and the news item it introduces in each case: the headline does not inform about the ensuing news item, rather it

highlights a single detail extracted out of the story and presents the reader with ‘a fairly complex riddle’. By foregrounding these details, the text producer creates expectations (Baicchi, 2003, 2004) and directs his prospective reader towards the key elements of the text. This is what we have demonstrated in

22) **Political sleaze. Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell. (*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

c) motivation arising from what we have termed ‘stereotype’ contexts: sometimes the stories in different news items share certain general fixed characteristics which explain why some headlines/collocations are more frequently used than others in the corpus. We have distinguished two types of contexts: 1) grammatical colligations, and 2) semantic contexts.

b) However, we needed to pursue a **qualitative analysis** to probe deeper reasons for this communicative impact. Here, we found multiple reasons converging. Allusive collocations / headlines have been shown to function within five domains:

- as foregrounders at the textual level to attract reader attention;
- as bearers of implicatures at the intertextual level to achieve physical economy of expression and to exploit the productive ambiguity of words and phrasal units;
- as evaluators, either critical or uncritical, of accepted ideas with regard to the content of the article they introduce to achieve ironic effects of ridicule or criticism, to achieve humorous effects, to convince by appeal to cultural values;
- at the processing level, as either cognitive facilitators – they ease the interpretative load as they constitute prefabricated chunks already in the reader’s mental lexicon -- or cognitive challengers to encourage the reader to read on;

- and at the affective level, as a means of establishing a bond between the writer and the reader to impart aesthetic pleasure to the reader and to display the writer's world knowledge, beliefs, values and wit.

On the one hand, an allusion may express meaning in highly condensed form. On the other hand, it may be a semantic distractor which lessens the communicative function of language, so that affective, bonding functions dominate over the communication of referential meaning, in the tradition of the punning joke or the riddle.

To be more precise about the different points related to the use of these allusive headlines / collocations, we have shown that evidence of our corpus reveals that

1. the writer attracts the reader's attention, the main function, thus proving that our initial hypothesis could not be rejected. All the prosodic, syntactic and semantic patterns we have examined in the crafting of this type of allusive headlines serve precisely the purpose of grabbing reader attention.
2. The reader also experiences the pleasure of recognition.
3. The writer has the chance to display some wit, thus showing his/her cleverness.
4. The stylistic effects embellish the text of the actual headline.
5. Besides, our collocations merge creatively with other rhetorical devices in order to help in the building up of the riddle each headline contains.
6. The productive ambiguity of words is exploited so that physical economy of expression is assured and the implication is that, if you read on, you will get to know about all the details contained in the ensuing news item.

7. Related to this, there is strong condensation of a complex message through the adaptation of the collocation to a specific context. In the Conceptual Blending approach, this enriched meaning will be reflected in the so-called *blended space*.
8. There may also be a touch of humour evoked by the juxtaposition of the two contexts: that of the allusion and the actual one referred to in the accompanying news.
9. At the processing level, initially, comprehension is eased by the recognition of the familiar collocation (cognitive facilitator), that is, by creating a feeling of familiarity, but
10. then the reader is cognitively challenged to infer the relevance of the collocation for an article about business and/or politics (cognitive challenger).
11. This will encourage the reader to read on to satisfy the curiosity raised by finding out what the ensuing text is about.
12. From the writer's perspective the collocation / allusion functions to establish common ground with the reader (the title of a song, film or TV series is shown to be part of their mutual stored cultural knowledge).
13. Nevertheless, there is also an element of the facetious which links the collocation / allusion to the genre of jokes and puns involving play with hackneyed quotations.

In the light of our conclusions, we firmly claim that the corpus data presented here sustain our view of part-of-a-quotation / allusive collocations as adaptable

and flexible units of knowledge. This can be discerned in the variation patterns where substitution is primed for distinct lexical items in order to create different concepts or units of knowledge. This variation process, however, is only possible due to the stable word combinations used in the headlines studied.

At the same time, we have shown that headlines draw at least part of their power and meaning from the pool of shared cultural, political and general knowledge on which they draw. Not only do they intrigue and awaken interest, they reward the reader through the intellectual satisfaction gained in successfully decoding them.

Veale's (2012) view that clichés are not in themselves something to be avoided, but appropriate ones can effectively frame the received wisdom that a creative writer wishes to subsequently undermine or subvert, supports the fact, as we have shown, that each creative variation in The Economist Corpus is a linguistic blend of sorts, a mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar that conveys a new yet recognizable meaning, a novel blend of very familiar clichés.

All this, on the other hand, within the general journalistic trend of *literary journalism*.

The study of allusive collocations and their modifications can tell us a great deal about the nature of fixed expressions, figurative language and, finally, of language itself. In general our research has shown that the phenomenon of lexical modification is far more complex than it may appear at first sight. However, much remains to be discovered about modification and allusion (part-of-a-quotation collocations), perhaps with different methods and from the perspective of different linguistic disciplines. Obviously, our work has a number of limitations: the corpus search was limited to the collocations and their variations identified by hand in The Economist Corpus, and a reversed search, that is for all possible canonical collocations and their variations in already existing digital

corpora would be necessary in order to reliably report on collocation variations and their incidence of occurrence.

The analysis presented here should also be complemented by the study of other publications different from the one here discussed, which would give us an approximate idea of the different mechanisms that most attract the reader's attention, so that we could get to know if some of them are as powerful as others or not, if there are differences between them according to register, genre, etc. Lennon (2004: 268) in this sense suggests that there is evidence of the prevalence of allusion in language outside newspapers. Not only is allusion found in sections not written by journalists, for example letters to the editor, but also a small percentage of allusions may be found either in institutionalised form in titles, for instance of TV programmes, or as part of reported speech. It would be interesting to study in more detail the ways in which writers manipulate their own stance to such reported allusions.

Also from the point of view of the recipient, the questions of how important the article following the headline is for understanding or how different types of readers draw on the original collocation when interpreting should be tested. This might reveal which parts of lexical modification are focused on most in the interpretation process and whether the reader treats this type of headlines differently in comparison to ordinary ones.

The present thesis could serve as a useful basis for work along the lines of any of these specific issues.

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Glossary of technical terms

Allusion: *'a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage'* (Abrams, 2009:11).

Assumptions: propositional entities – they are the type of entities that can be believed to be true, for example, expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses, religious beliefs, fears and hopes, and so on. (Sperber and Wilson, 1995)

Binomial pair: *'a structurally frozen and often irreversible conventionalized sequence of two content words – occasionally including proper names – used together as an idiomatic expression or collocation, belonging to the same grammatical category, and having some semantic relationship'* (Gabrovšek, 2011: 20)

Blending: theoretical framework for exploring human information integration (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998; Coulson, 2000)

Cliché: *'a frequently used phrase'* (Veale, 2012: 71)

Cognitive environment: in relevance theory, the sum-total of information available to an individual at a point in time. It includes any information accessible to that individual from memory, perception

or inferential thought processes (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 39).

Cohesion: the fact that different lexical complexes collocate together despite varying degrees of semantic and syntagmatic relationships: e.g. idioms (*kicked the bucket*), polywords (*by and large*), sentence frames or ‘prefabs’ (*the fact that*) and collocations (*foot the bill*, *shrug one’s shoulders*)

Colligation: the statement of meaning at the grammatical level, seen as the relationship between word classes and sentence classes (Firth, 1951)

Collocation: ‘*a predictable combination of words*’ (Hill, in Lewis, 2000: 51)

Context: the subset of the assumptions which the hearer already represents in his/her long-term memory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995).

Conventional meaning: ‘*the semantics of the sentence, i.e., its logical form representation*’ (Giora, 1997: 185)

Conventionality: ‘*a relation among a linguistic regularity, a situation of use, and a population that has implicitly agreed to conform to that regularity in that situation out of preference for general uniformity, rather than because there is some obvious and compelling reason to conform to that regularity instead of some other*’ (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994: 492).

Co-text: the typical context of use of a phraseological unit in actual stretches of texts or discourse (Hundt, 1997)

Creative: ‘*humorous, playful, witty, punning, (employing) figurative language, rhyming, (drawing on) intertextuality, (drawing on) implicatures*

(rather than explicit meaning), (employing) literary style'
(Ifantidou, 2009: 707)

Creative re-conceptualization: *'a process of selectively moving features from the conceptual background to the foreground, and vice versa'*
(Veale, 2012: 136)

Deliberate = purposeful: *'knowingly constructed'* (Partington, 2009: 1796)

Echoic allusion: *'...it is characterised by an echo orchestrated by the writer so that understanding involves a setting off of one unit of language in praesentia (the alluding unit) against another in absentia (the target). The echo may be achieved either by means of verbatim reproduction or adaptation of the original language. What is criterial is that some sort of text-dependent or context-dependent meaning contrast is set up between the two units...'* (Lennon, 2004: 2)

Embodiment: parts of our conceptual system and therefore some aspects of our language are structured by the features of our bodies and the functioning of our bodies in everyday life (Goschler, 2005: 35).

Exploitation: controlled departure from a linguistic norm (Hanks, 1994, 2004)

Frames: *'These are mental projections that are shaped by a person's understanding of the world and those things that inhabit or structure it. Frames comprise the context within which all forms of interaction take place'* (Matthews, 2008: 166).

Idiom or collocational principle: it sees normal discourse as largely composed of preconstituted or semi-preconstituted blocks of language (Sinclair, 1987).

Image schema = embodied schema: *'a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities. These patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions'* (Johnson 1987: 29).

Interface (=double grounding = topic-triggered metaphor): *'simultaneous activation of structure from both the source and the target of a metaphor'* (White and Herrera, 2009)

Intertextuality: *'where a text alludes to another text'* (Danesi, 1994: 276)

'Inverted pyramid': in literary journalism, *'structuring information in a rigid pattern sometimes referred to as the "inverted pyramid", supplying brief clear answers to the questions Who?, What?, Where?, When?, and Why?, using quotations as evidence, and presenting conflicting points of view'* (Eason, 1982: 145).

Lexical priming: this theory holds that, by repeated acquaintance with a lexical item along with processes of analogy with other similar items, normal language users learn -- are *primed* to recognise and then reproduce in their own discourse -- the typical behaviour of that item in interaction with other items (Hoey, 2005).

Lexical substitution: *'fixed sequences of words in which at least one lexical element has been replaced for the purposes of a specific text'* (Jaki, 2014:1).

Lexico-grammar perspective: it questions the traditional idea of the word class and argues instead that there is a cline, with high frequency polyvalent items at one end (*grammatical words* are polyvalent

because of the wider variety of words they collocate with) and highly specialized items at the other (*lexical words* whose collocational context is more likely to be restricted) (Sinclair, 1991).

Literalisation: a type of modification which involves the actualisation of the literal meaning. In ordinary idiom processing, this meaning is backgrounded in comparison to the phraseological meaning (Jaki, 2014: 28)

Literary journalism: “*“journalism as literature” rather than “journalism about literature”*” (IALJS’s --International Association for Literary Journalism Studies-- Newsletter, winter 2015, vol. 9, n. 1, p. 6). In other words, a genre of non-fiction prose that lies at conceptual intersection of literature and journalism.

Meaning potential: the potential of a word or phrase to contribute in a given context to the meaningfulness of an actual utterance (Hanks, 1994, 2004)

Mental spaces: ‘*small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action*’ (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 40)

Metaphor: ‘*the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5)

Metaphonymy: close and often hardly separable interrelation between metaphor and metonymy (Barcelona, 2000)

Metonymy: ‘*to take one well-understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it.*’ Lakoff (1987: 77)

Modification: *‘the intentional manipulation of the form and/or meaning of a phraseological unit for the purposes of a specific text’* (Jaki, 2014: 17)

Motivation: *‘natural or contextual connection’* (Partington, 2009: 1804)

Motivating links: *‘the conceptual links between the lexical structure and the actual meaning of a collocation’* (Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen, 2005: 359)

New journalism: an umbrella term that includes several forms of journalism, among them, literary journalism (Applegate, 1996).

Open-choice principle: it describes discourse production as *‘a series of slots which have to be filled from the lexicon’*, the only restraints being grammatical, that is, that only items from certain word classes may appear in a given slot (Sinclair, 1987).

Oxymoron: antonymous relation

Patterning: it refers to the regularities observed in language due to the consistent repetition of co-occurring units of various kinds (lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, etc.) (Hunston and Francis, 2000: 37)

Phoricity: the relation between the words titles contain and their co-referents within the text base (Baicchi, 2003, 2004).

Phraseological tendency (equivalent to the *idiom principle*):

‘the tendency of a speaker/writer to choose several words at a time’
(Sinclair, 2004: 170)

Priming prosody: the complete array of an item’s combinatorial behaviours (Hoey, 2005).

Proverb: *'short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.'* (Mieder, 1993: 24)

Pun: *'a foregrounded lexical ambiguity'* (Leech, 1969: 209).

- Exact pun: two sound sequences which are *identical* are called into play.
- Near pun: two sequences are involved which *resemble* each other phonologically (sometimes visually).

Readymade: *'... true readymades, simple phrases uttered in one context but put to new uses in another'* (Veale, 2012: 151)

Relevance: the principle by which human cognitive processes are geared to achieving the greatest possible cognitive effect for the smallest processing effort (Sperber and Wilson's, 1995).

Relexicalisation: the 'freeing up' of the parts of a normally fixed or semi-fixed, preconstructed unit (Partington, 2009).

Salient meanings: coded meanings foremost on our mind due to familiarity, conventionality, frequency or prototypicality (Giora, 1997, 1999, 2003)

Script: *'a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it. The script is a cognitive structure internalized by the native speaker and it represents the native speaker's knowledge of a small part of the world'* (Raskin, 1985:81)

Semantic network: *'a model of conceptual structure in which concepts are represented as hierarchies of interconnected concept nodes.'* (Veale and O'Donoghue, quoted in Coulson and Oakley, 2000: 181)

Semantic underdetermination : *‘the distinction between what is said and what is implicated’* (Cortés de los Ríos, 2010: 103).

Set: *‘Collocation and set, as terms in a lexical description, are analogous to structure and system in a grammatical theory’* (Malmkjaer, 1991: 302).

Stereotype: *‘an important commonly-held assumption’* (Veale, 2012: 59)

Terminological tendency (equivalent to the *open-choice principle*):

‘the tendency of language users to protect the meaning of a word or phrase so that every time it is used it guarantees delivery of a known meaning’ (Sinclair, 2004: 170)

Textual dependence: the intertextual relation between the collocations we are concerned with and other texts that can be identified as their sources (Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen, 2005: 102, 215).

Typology: taxonomy that is established by distinguishing the different sorts of change possible on any kind of information string (Partington, 2009: 1806).

Variation: *‘non-intentional manipulation’* (Jaki, 2014: 17)

Wit: *‘in speech or writing it is the ability to use words or ideas in an amusing, clever, and imaginative way’* (Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, 1987: 1676) .

Appendices

Appendix 1 (The Economist Corpus)

(The numbers just before the headlines correspond to the order in which they appear in the magazine, taking first into account the date of the issue and then the precise collocation. The underlined words refer, at the same time, to the original collocations included in Appendix 2.)

1) **Uganda. All the presidents' wives**

RUHAMA COUNTY. It helps to have a well-known husband in the forthcoming elections. (*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.46)

2)

a) **Extradition in the Caribbean. Long arm of the law**

PORT OF SPAIN. No longer such a safe haven for suspected criminals.
(*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.54)

b) **India. The long arms of the law**

DELHI. Resolving commercial disputes in India can take forever.
(*The Economist*, July 1st 2006, p.58)

3)

a) **Satellite radio. Howard's way**

NEW YORK. Satellite radio comes of age.
(*The Economist*, January 14th 2006, p.64)

b) **Bagehot. Cameron's way**

The Conservative leader has set a new direction for his party. Will it

follow him? (*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.38)

c) **Michelle Bachelet. Doing it her way**

SANTIAGO. Chile's new president promises continuity and change.

(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.50)

d) **German companies. My way or the highway**

FRANKFURT. German companies are getting more confident about doing things their way. (*The Economist*, February 4th 2006, p.57)

e) **Virginia politics. Webb's way**

RICHMOND. A Democratic candidate in sand-coloured combat boots.

(*The Economist*, June 17th 2006, p.49)

4) **Nigeria. Pouring trouble on oily waters**

LAGOS. Rebels in the main oil region are threatening stability nationwide.

(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.41)

5) **Executive pay. Book of revelations**

New ideas from the regulators for disclosing manager's pay.

(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.59)

6) **Face Value. Still livin' on the edge**

Takafumi Horie, dotcom challenger of Japan's corporate elite, may have taken a step too far. (*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.60)

7) **Stockmarkets. Too good to be true**

After an exuberant start to the year, stockmarkets have had a shock.

(*The Economist*, January 21st 2006, p.66)

8)

a. **Portuguese politics. A tale of two prime ministers**

LISBON. The presidential election suggests that voters want economic reforms.

(*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.32)

b. **Germany. Plisch and Plum revisited**

BERLIN. A tale of two ministers. (*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, p.30)

c. **France's troubles. A tale of two Frances**

PARIS. A war may be needed to bring the two together, but this is not the right battle. (*The Economist*, April 1st 2006, p.23)

d. **France. A tale of two prime ministers**

PARIS. As the government waters down its labour reform, the prime minister, Dominique de Villepin (...), loses authority to rivals, such as Nicolas Sarkozy (...). (*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.29)

e. **Belarus and Azerbaijan. Use a long spoon**

A tale of two presidents, and of American short-sightedness.
(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.12)

f. **M&S and Debenhams. A tale of two retailers**

How two shopkeepers followed different paths in search of wealth.
(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.42)

g. **Slovakia and Serbia. A tale of two Slavic states**

BRATISLAVA AND PODGORICA. The Slovaks show how even laggards in the ex-communist world can leap ahead; Serbia has yet to get the message.
(*The Economist*, June 3rd 2006, p.25)

h. **Rice farming. Grains of doubt**

LITTLE ROCK. A tale of high-tech contamination in the bins of Arkansas.
(*The Economist*, September 16th 2006, p.58)

i. **Japanese entrepreneurialism. Flying high**

TOKYO. A tale of balloons and small business.
(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.74)

9) **Kenya. Caught in the act**

NAIROBI AND OXFORD. A courageous investigator uncovers more corruption in Kenya. But will the government, or the country's president, be shamed into taking action? (*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.45)

10) **Another nuclear revolution. Rethinking the unthinkable**

A scary thought to consider: more reliable nuclear weapons.
(*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.49)

11) **Gloom in France. The unbearable lightness of being overtaken**

PARIS. The French are losing the consolation of doing better than the Germans.
(*The Economist*, February 4th 2006, p.25)

12)

a) **Racial and religious hatred. Of imams and Nazis**

The Abu Hamza case shows that much has changed in Britain.
(*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.26)

b) **Iran and America. Of God and men**

Relying on the prophets. (*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.44)

c) **Development. Of property and poverty**

Land titling is a good thing, but it does not in itself create capitalism.
(*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.11)

13) **Face Value. Time of his life**

Carl Icahn expects to have the last laugh in his battle to break up Time Warner.
(*The Economist*, February 11th 2006, p.66)

14)

a. **Venezuela. Mission impossible**

CARACAS. Poverty is at last falling under Hugo Chávez, but not nearly as much as it should have given his country's vast oil windfall.
(*The Economist*, February 18th 2006, p.46)

b. **Afghanistan. Mission plausible**

RIGA. NATO's leaders promise victory. But many are still holding back.
(*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.58)

c. **The United Nations. Mission impossible?**

As Ban Ki-moon takes charge at the UN, we look at the prospects for this troubled body and for its peace keeping efforts round the world.
(*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.18)

15)

a. **George Bush's passage to India**

(*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, front cover)

b. **Leaders. A passage to India**

The pitfalls awaiting George Bush in the subcontinent.
(*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, p.11)

16)

a) **High jinks in Russia. With friends like these**

MOSCOW. What an alleged British spy ring and mysterious pipeline explosions on the Russian-Georgian border have in common.
(*The Economist*, January 28th 2006, p.31)

b) **Peru's election. With friends like these**

LIMA. Hugo Chávez's meddling backfires.
(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.52)

c) **Muslims and socialists. With friends like these**

An odd marriage of Muslims and secular socialists, united against America, is challenged by pundits of right and left.
(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.61)

17) **Darfur. Never say never again**

Three years after western Sudan burst into flames, NATO should provide an

extinguisher. (*The Economist*, February 25th 2006, p.13)

18) **Women's pay.** **The hand that rocks the cradle**

Why women are still earning less than men.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.33)

19) **Dung into methane.** **The year of the dog**

SAN FRANCISCO. Recycling in San Francisco takes a dirty step forward.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.44)

20) **Political sleaze.** **Tess of the Virgin Isles**

The trials of Tessa Jowell. (*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.34)

21) **Dubai.** **Arabian dreams**

DUBAI CITY. The emirate has too much to lose by being a security risk.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.58)

22) **Turkey's garment trade.** **Beyond the veil**

ISTANBUL. Where Islam and erotic underwear meet.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.60)

23) **Immunology.** **Gold fingered** (S&T)

An unexpected discovery may help explain how old arthritis drugs work.

(*The Economist*, March 4th 2006, p.75)

24)

a) **North Sea oil and gas.** **The long goodbye**

ABERDEEN. High oil prices have helped slow the North Sea's decline.

Government flip-flopping could accelerate it again.

(*The Economist*, March 18th 2006, p.35)

b) **Republican woes.** **The long goodbye**

AUSTIN AND WASHINGTON, DC. The downfall of their most powerful congressman gives Republicans a chance to get rid of what he represented.

(*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.46)

25) **Pharmaceuticals. Unwelcome suitors**

DARMSTADT AND NEW YORK. Attempts to form a new drugs giant in Germany.

(*The Economist*, March 18th 2006, p.61)

26) **A survey of China. Pride and prejudice**

If in doubt about your place in the world, fall back on nationalism.

(*The Economist*, March 25th 2006, p.16)

27) **Climate change. Hot under the collar**

Britain will miss its much-trumpeted carbon-emissions target, for all the government's proposed new measures. (*The Economist*, April 1st 2006, p.33)

28) --> see also n. 47 below

Medicine. Tales of the unexpected (S&T)

Why a drug trial went so badly wrong. (*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.80)

29) **General Motors, Delphi and the unions. Last tango in Detroit?**

DETROIT AND NEW YORK. As fears grow that GM will go bust, management and unions are locked in a mournful embrace. (*The Economist*, April 8th 2006, p.61)

30) **Afghanistan. Bleak courthouse**

KABUL. Where justice still leans on the Koran and the whip.

(*The Economist*, April 15th 2006, p.60)

31)

- **Chad. The French connection**

Chad's president clings to power, with the help of some powerful friends.

(*The Economist*, April 22nd 2006, p.42)

- **Bolivia. The Venezuelan connection**

CARACAS AND LA PAZ. Despite foreign encouragement, many Bolivians are reluctant to move to socialism. (*The Economist*, July 8th 2006, p.52)

- 32) **Israel's new government. Farewell to the generals**
TEL AVIV. What change will be brought about by civilians running Israel?
(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.46)
- 33) **African poverty. The magnificent seven**
SAURI, KENYA. How a few simple reforms can lift African villages out of poverty.
(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.47)
- 34)
- a. **Earnings guidance. The sound of silence**
NEW YORK. More companies are keeping mum about future profits.
(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.75)
- b. **India's nuclear ambitions: The sound of one hand clapping**
DELHI. There are many Indian critics, not just foreign ones, of the government's nuclear deal with America.
(*The Economist*, July 22nd 2006, p.56)
- 35) **Computers. For whom the Dell tolls**
The world's biggest computer-maker is stumbling.
(*The Economist*, May 13th 2006, p.64)
- 36) **Afghanistan. Dial M for mujahideen**
KABUL. The country goes phone-crazy. (*The Economist*, May 20th 2006, p.63)
- 37) **Car retailing. Death of the salesman**
NEW YORK. Online car sales are taking off. (*The Economist*, May 27th 2006, p.59)
- 38) **Politics and petrol prices. Much ado about pumping**
WASHINGTON, DC. Ordinary Americans are responding fairly rationally to high prices at the pump. Shame about the politicians.
(*The Economist*, June 3rd 2006, p.45)

39) **Aircraft emissions. The sky's the limit**

Air travel is a rapidly growing source of greenhouse gases. But it is also an indispensable way of travel. (*The Economist*, June 10th 2006, p.75)

40)

a) **African stock exchanges. Out in Africa**

JOHANNESBURG. The Johannesburg stock exchange spreads its wings.
(*The Economist*, June 10th 2006, p.80)

b) **International justice. Out of Africa, into The Hague**

Charles Taylor's transfer to The Hague sends a warning to Africa's top villains. (*The Economist*, June 24th 2006, p.49)

c) **Mobile telecoms. Out of Africa**

NAIROBI AND LONDON. A new kind of telecoms operator is evolving in Africa and the Middle East. (*The Economist*, December 9th 2006, p.65)

41)

a. **Prison reform. Crime and Punishment**

Britain needs fewer prisons, not more.
(*The Economist*, June 24th 2006, p.14)

b. **Colombia's paramilitaries. Crime and (maybe) punishment**

BOGOTÁ. President Uribe (...) faces conflicting pressures as he tries to strike a balance between peace and justice.
(*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.38)

42) **French business. Patriot games**

A bad few weeks for those who would defend the national glory of French industry. (*The Economist*, July 1st 2006, p.14)

43)

a) **World trade. Under attack**

America is being blamed for the impasse in global trade talks.

(*The Economist*, July 8th 2006, p.69)

b) **Drug patents. Under attack**

NEW YORK. Why are drug patents now coming under legal attack?

(*The Economist*, September 9th 2006, p.60)

44)

a) **Memory formation. The big sleep** (S&T)

FLORENCE. There may be a link between the way memories are formed and the adverse effects of sleep deprivation.

(*The Economist*, July 8th 2006, p.76)

b) **Share trading. The big squeeze**

LONDON AND NEW YORK. Banks, brokers and exchanges fight over the crumbs of share trading. (*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.83)

c) **Living standards. The big squeeze**

Wage negotiations in early 2007 will be a tussle.

(*The Economist*, December 23rd 2006, p.57)

45) **America's corporate pensions. On the runway**

NEW YORK. At last, pension reform is in the works.

(*The Economist*, July 22nd 2006, p.74)

46)

a. **Space travel. From Russia, with love** (S&T)

A private space "building" is launched.

(*The Economist*, July 22nd 2006, p.82)

b. **Middle East policy. To Israel with love**

WASHINGTON, DC. Why America gives Israel its unconditional support.

(*The Economist*, August 5th 2006, p.38)

47) **Spain. Viva, Zapatero!**

An unexpected tale of success in Madrid. (*The Economist*, July 29th 2006, p.15)

48) **Repression in Belarus.** Several more turns of the screw

MOSCOW. A paranoid leader lashes out on all sides against his imagined foes.

(*The Economist*, August 12th 2006, p.23)

49) **European leveraged buy-outs.** The call of the continent

PARIS. American private-equity funds are increasingly attracted to the old world.

(*The Economist*, August 12th 2006, p.55)

50) **Evolution: Stooping to conquer** (S&T)

How to become multicellular. (*The Economist*, August 12th 2006, p.63)

51)

a) **The defence industry.** Collateral damage

Why the war in Iraq is surprisingly bad news for America's defence firms. (*The Economist*, August 26th 2006, p.45)

b) **New mortgages.** Collateral thinking

As property values rise, lenders link loans to house prices.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.76)

52) **Japan's basic industries.** Under pressure

TOKYO. An outbreak of mergers and takeovers could be looming in Japan.

(*The Economist*, September 9th 2006, p.61)

53) **Canada.** This land is my land

OTTAWA. Yet another land-claim dispute turns ugly and shines a spotlight on the failure of Canada's policies towards its aboriginal people.

(*The Economist*, September 16th 2006, p.61)

54) **Japan.** The man who remade Japan

TOKYO. But now Junichiro Koizumi is stepping down.

(*The Economist*, September 16th 2006, p.65)

55) + 8b)

a) **Russian energy. Yukos revisited?**

Russia must stop strong-arming foreign investors.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.11)

b) **Germany's ex-chancellor. Schröder revisited**

BERLIN. A memoir rekindles a debate.

(*The Economist*, October 21st 2006, p.34)

56) **Leaders. The dark side of debt**

Public markets for raising and investing capital are plunging into the shadows.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.9)

57) **Hungarian dances**

What a prime ministerial gaffe reveals about economic reform in Europe.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.36)

58)

a) **Urban renewal. Up in arms about the Yards**

BROOKLYN. A project recalls the mistakes of the past.

(*The Economist*, September 23rd 2006, p.48)

b) **Steel. Arcelor, up in arms**

PARIS. Arcelor's dubious defence against Mittal Steel's hostile bid.

(*The Economist*, April 29th 2006, p.64)

59) **Germany and Islam. A night not at the opera**

BERLIN. A scrapped opera production mars an Islamic conference.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.36)

60) **Mexico. Under the volcano**

OAXACA. The governor v most of the people.

(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.64)

61) **Japan. The A team**

TOKYO. A new prime minister picks his cabinet.
(*The Economist*, September 30th 2006, p.66)

62) **Germany's government. Angela's ashes**

The German chancellor needs to be bolder in pursuing reforms.
(*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.13)

63) **The Republicans. Hurricane Mark batters Hastert**

PALM BEACH GARDENS. A sex scandal flummoxes Republicans in Washington, DC, and Florida. (*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.53)

64) **Corporate scandals. The fugitive**

NEW YORK. More twists in the fuss over options backdating.
(*The Economist*, October 7th 2006, p.70)

65) **Presidential contenders. The vanishing Virginians**

RICHMOND. A bad week for the home state of Washington, Jefferson and Wilson.
(*The Economist*, October 21st 2006, p.60)

66) **Hedge funds. Frontier justice**

FRANKFURT AND NEW YORK. Facing calls for transparency, hedge funds try self-policing. (*The Economist*, October 21st 2006, p.89)

67) **A survey of France. Minority report**

The trouble with integration. (*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.11)

68) **Colombia's army. Under fire**

BOGOTÁ. Bombings, real and otherwise. (*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

69) **Venezuela. Death in El Dorado**

LA PARAGUA. Gold miners clash with Hugo Chavez's revolution.
(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.64)

70) **China's water supply. A modest proposal**

BEIJING. China should liberalise water pricing.

(*The Economist*, October 28th 2006, p.68)

71) **The future of Kosovo. Independence days**

An independent Kosovo is coming. The question is how best to achieve it.

(*The Economist*, November 4th 2006, p.16)

72) **Nicaragua. Who's afraid of Daniel Ortega?**

MANAGUA. An election with much historical baggage and a familiar front-runner attracts more outside meddling than it deserves.

(*The Economist*, November 4th 2006, p.58)

73) **Indonesia's criminals. Lucky Tommy**

JAKARTA. Did the punishment fit the crime?

(*The Economist*, November 4th 2006, p.63)

74) **Global health. Less Mary Poppins**

The World Health Organization needs to help sick people, not be a nanny.

(*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.13)

75) **The Dutch election. Harry Potter revived**

AMSTERDAM. An unexpected turnaround in the fortunes of Jan Peter Balkenende.

(*The Economist*, November 11th 2006, p.36)

76) **Hedge funds: Mutiny about the bounty**

The risks from hedge funds are not that high. Nor, investors should note, are the rewards. (*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.16)

77) **The yachting craze. A dash for the deep blue sea**

Every inch of the world's coast is sized up by seafarers in search of space.

(*The Economist*, November 18th 2006, p.62)

78) **The European Union's new members. Through the looking glass**

BRUSSELS. It is, alas, easier to influence candidates for entry than those now in the club. (*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.31)

79) **Business and politics. Cameron preferred soldiers**

British business feels unappreciated by politicians of all persuasions.
(*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.37)

80) **A new equality body. Snow White and the seven isms**

The replacement for the race equality body is being attacked from all sides.
(*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.37)

81)

a) **America and Iraq. Waiting for Baker**

WASHINGTON, DC. All eyes are on the Iraq Study Group.
(*The Economist*, December 2nd 2006, p.45)

b) **America's next president. Waiting for Al**

WASHINGTON, DC. As voters weary of the front-runners, what a chance for Al Gore. (*The Economist*, February 24th 2007, p.49)

82) **Fund management. A Miller's tale**

The winning streak of a super-investor comes to an end.
(*The Economist*, December 9th 2006, p.78)

83) **Governors old and new. The second term-inator**

LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK. Arnold Schwarzenegger promises to be nice to Democrats. (*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.36)

84) **Lloyd's of London. The Rip van Winkle of risk**

The world's quirkiest insurance market wakes up to the modern world.
(*The Economist*, January 6th 2007, p.59)

85) **Japan's currency. Carry on living dangerously**

Speculators and low interest rates have helped cheapen the yen, putting the world economy at risk.

(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.77)

86) **Weather risk. Come rain or come shine**

Hedge funds find a new way to profit by taking on the weather gods.

(*The Economist*, February 10th 2007, p.78)

87) **Terrorism in India. Murder on the Friendship Express**

DELHI. Despite the latest bombing, the peace process between India and Pakistan drags on. (*The Economist*, February 24th 2007, p.55)

Appendix 2 (Original titles and their references)

Title	Reference
1 a) All the President's Men	Non-fiction book (1974) by Woodward and Bernstein about Nixon's downfall. Film (1976) dir. by Alan J. Pakula, with D. Hoffman and R. Redford.
b) All the King's Men	A line in the nursery rhyme <i>Humpty Dumpty</i> . Novel (1946) by Robert Penn Warren.
2) Long Arm of the Law	Song by Kenny Rogers
3) I did it my way	F. Sinatra's song
4 a) Troubled waters	Film (2006) dir. by J. Stead, with J. Beals
b) Bridge over Troubled Water	Song and album (1970) by Simon & Garfunkel
5) Book of Revelation	The final book of the New Testament, by Saint John the Apostle, also known as Apocalypse
6) Livin' on the Edge	Song (1993) by Aerosmith
7) Too good to be true	Song (1978) by Tom Robinson Band (among other authors). TV film (1988) dir. by C. I. Nyby, with L. Anderson
8) A Tale of Two Cities	Novel (1859) by Ch. Dickens
9) Caught in the act	Album (1983), and the title song, by Redgum. Album (1975) by Commodores. Album (1989) by Eric Gable. Album (1975) by Grand Funk Railroad. Album (1984) by Styx. Album (2005) by Michael Bublé. Album (2003) by Pamyua. An episode of <i>Frasier</i> . A 1970 episode of <i>The Goodies</i> . A 2011 episode of <i>Modern Family</i> . A 1995 episode of <i>The Outer Limits</i> . A controversial video produced by Barrie Goulding. A DVD release of the American documentary television show <i>COPS</i> . <i>Garfield: Caught in the Act</i> , a 1995

	<p>game for the Sega Genesis.</p> <p>A ballet by Tim Rushton.</p> <p>Alternative title of <i>Kilroy Was Here</i>, a rock opera film by Styx.</p> <p><i>Caught in the Act: The Feldberg Investigation</i>, a 1994 book by Melody MacDonald on animal-testing practises.</p>
10) Rethinking the unthinkable: new directions for nuclear arms control	Non-fiction book by Ivo H. Daalder & Terry Terriff about the future direction of nuclear arms control in the post-Cold War security environment. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1993.
11) The Unbearable Lightness of Being	Novel (1984) by M. Kundera
12) Of Mice and Men	<p>The final part of a line in Robert Burns' poem <i>To a Mouse</i> (1786).</p> <p>Novel (1937) by J. Steinbeck.</p> <p>Film (1939) dir. by Lewis Milestone, with Burgess Meredith.</p> <p>Film (1992) dir. by Gary Sinise, with John Malkovich.</p>
13) a) Time of his life	Film (1955) dir. by Leslie S. Hiscott
b) Time of my life	Final song in the film <i>Dirty Dancing</i> (1987)
14) Mission: Impossible	Film (1996) dir. by Brian De Palma, with T. Cruise
15) A Passage to India	<p>Novel (1924) by E. M. Forster.</p> <p>Film (1984) dir. by David Lean</p>
16) With friends like these	Film (1998) dir. by P. F. Messina, with A. Arkin
17) Never Say Never Again	Film (1983) dir. by Irvin Kershner, with S. Connery
18) The Hand that Rocks the Cradle	<p>Poem (1865) by Wm. Ross Wallace.</p> <p>Film (1992) dir. by Curtis Hanson, with Rebeca de Mornay</p>
19) The year of the cat	Song and album (1976) by Al Stewart
20) Tess of the d'Urbervilles	<p>Novel (1891) by T. Hardy.</p> <p>Film (1979), dir. by R. Polanski, with N. Kinski.</p>
21) Arabian Nights	<p>A collection of Asian folk tales also known as <i>One Thousand and One Nights</i> (first English edition, 1706).</p> <p>Film (1942) dir. by J. Rawlins, with Sabu</p>

22) Beyond the veil	Music album (1999) by Tristania.
23) Goldfinger	Film (1964) dir. by Guy Hamilton, with S. Connery
24) The long goodbye	Novel (1953) by R. Chandler. Film (1973) dir. by R. Altman, with E. Gould
25) The Unwelcome Suitor	A romance (1984) by M. DeBoer
26) Pride and Prejudice	Novel (1813) by J Austen. Film (2005) dir. by Joe Wright, with Keira Knightley
27) Hot under the collar	Film (1992) dir. by Richard Gabai
28) Tales of the Unexpected	A collection of short stories (1979) by R. Dahl
29) Last Tango in Paris	Film (1972) dir. by B. Bertolucci, with M. Brando
30) Bleak House	Novel (1852) by Ch. Dickens
31) The French Connection	Film (1971) dir. by Wm. Friedkin, with G. Hackman and Fernando Rey
32) A Farewell to Arms	Novel (1929) by E. Hemingway. Film (1932) dir. by F. Borzage, with G. Cooper
33) The Magnificent Seven	Film (1960) dir. by J. Sturges, with Yul Brynner and S. McQueen
34) The Sound of Music	Film (1965) dir. by R. Wise, with J. Andrews
35) For Whom the Bell Tolls	Famous line from John Donne's <i>Meditation XVII</i> , in his book <i>Devotions upon Emergent Occasions</i> (1624). Novel (1940) by E. Hemingway.
36) Dial M for Murder	Film (1954) dir. by A. Hitchcock, with Ray Milland and Grace Kelly
37) Death of a Salesman	Play (1949) by Arthur Miller
38) Much Ado about Nothing	Comedy (1600) by Wm. Shakespeare. Film (1993) dir. by K. Branagh, with K. Branagh and E. Thompson
39) The Sky's the Limit	Film (1943) dir. by E. Griffith, with F. Astaire
40) Out of Africa	Film (1985) dir. By S. Pollack, with M.

	Streep and R. Redford
41) Crime and Punishment	Novel (1866) by F. Dostoevsky
42) Patriot Games	Novel (1987)by Tom Clancy. Film (1992) dir. by Phillip Noyce, with H. Ford
43) Under Attack	Song (1982) by ABBA
44 a) The Big Sleep	Novel (1939) by R. Chandler. Film (1946) dir. by Howard Hawks, with H. Bogart
b) The Big Country	Film (1958) dir. by William Wyler, with G. Peck, J. Simmons and C. Heston
c) The Big Land	Film (1957) dir. by Gordon Douglas, with Alan Ladd
45) On the Road	Novel (1951) by J. Kerouac
46) From Russia with Love	Novel (1957) by I. Fleming. Film (1963) dir. by T. Young, with S. Connery
47) ¡Viva Zapata!	Film (1952) dir. by E. Kazan, with M. Brando
48) The Turn of the Screw	Novel (1898) by H. James
49) The Call of the Wild	Novel (1903) by J. London
50) She Stoops to Conquer	Comedy (1773) by O. Goldsmith
51) Collateral Damage	Film (2002) dir. by A. Davis, with A. Schwarzenegger
52) Under Pressure	Song (1981) by Queen
53) This Land is my Land	Book (1995) by George Littlechild
54) The Man Who Knew Too Much	Film (1956) dir. by A. Hitchcock, with J. Stewart and Doris Day
55) Brideshead Revisited	TV series (1981), with Jeremy Irons
56) The Dark Side of the Moon	Music album (1973) by Pink Floyd
57) Hungarian Dances	A set of dance tunes based mostly on Hungarian themes (1869), by J. Brahms
58) Up in Arms	Film (1944) dir. by E. Nugent, with Danny Kaye and Dana Andrews
59) A Night at the Opera	Film (1935) dir. by Sam Wood, with the Brothers Marx. Music album (1975) by Queen
60) Under the Volcano	Novel (1947) by Malcolm Lowry.

	Film (1984) dir.by John Huston
61) The A Team	TV series (1983–1987) created by S. J. Cannell, with G. Peppard
62) Angela's Ashes	Memoir book (1996) by Frank McCourt Film (1999) dir. by Alan Parker
63) Hurricane	Song (1975) by Bob Dylan inspired on the figure of 'Hurricane' Carter
64) The Fugitive	TV series (1963–67) created by R. Huggins Film (1993) dir. by A. Davis, with H. Ford
65) The Virginian	Novel (1902) by Owen Wister. TV series (1962–1971), with J. Drury
66) Frontier Justice	Song by Ronna Reeves
67) Minority Report	Film (2002) dir. by S. Spielberg, with T. Cruise
68 a) Under Fire: The Story of a Squad	English translation of the French novel <i>Le Feu: journal d'une escouade</i> (1916) by Henri Barbusse
b) Under fire	Film (1983) dir. by R. Spottiswoode, with Nick Nolte and Ed Harris
69 a) Death on the Nile	Novel (1937) by Agatha Christie. Film (1978) dir. by J. Guillermin, with P. Ustinov
b) El Dorado	Poem (1849) by Edgar Allan Poe. Film (1966) dir. by Howard Hawks, with J. Wayne and R. Mitchum
70) A Modest Proposal	Essay (1729) by Jonathan Swift
71) Independence Day	Film (1996) dir. by R. Emmerich, with W. Smith
72) Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?	Play (1962) by Edward Albee
73) Lucky Jim	Novel (1954) by K. Amis
74) Mary Poppins	A series of children's novels published over the period 1934 to 1988 by P. L. Travers. Musical film (1964), with J. Andrews and Dick Van Dyke. A stage musical (2004) produced by Disney Theatrical, in collaboration with Cameron Mackintosh.

75) Harry Potter	A series of novels (1997-2007) by J. K. Rowling
76) Mutiny on the Bounty	Film (1962) dir. by L. Milestone, with M. Brando
77) Deep Blue Sea	Film (1999) dir. by R. Harlin, with T. Jane
78) Through the Looking Glass	Work of literature (1871) by L. Carroll
79) Gentlemen Prefer Blondes	Film (1953) dir. by H. Hawks, with M. Monroe, J. Lemon and T. Curtis
80) Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs	A German fairy tale by the Brothers Grimm. Animated film (1937)dir. by Wm. Cottrell
81) Waiting for Godot	Play (1949) by Samuel Beckett
82) The Miller's Tale	The second of G. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (1380s-1390s)
83) Terminator	Film (1984) dir. by J. Cameron, with A. Schwarzenegger
84) Rip Van Winkle	Short story (1819) by W. Irving
85) The Year of Living Dangerously	Film (1982) dir. by P. Weir, with Mel Gibson
86) Come Rain or Come Shine	Song (1946) by H. Arlen and J. Mercer
87) Murder on the Orient Express	Novel (1934) by Agatha Christie

Appendix 3

The following is an example that shows that the use of ‘part-of-a-quotation’ collocations seems also to be a deployed device in press in other languages. It corresponds to the front page and related article appeared in *El País Semanal* on 26th February 2012. The headline is the translation of *All the King’s Men*. Further commentaries on this collocation are on page 87 in this work.

